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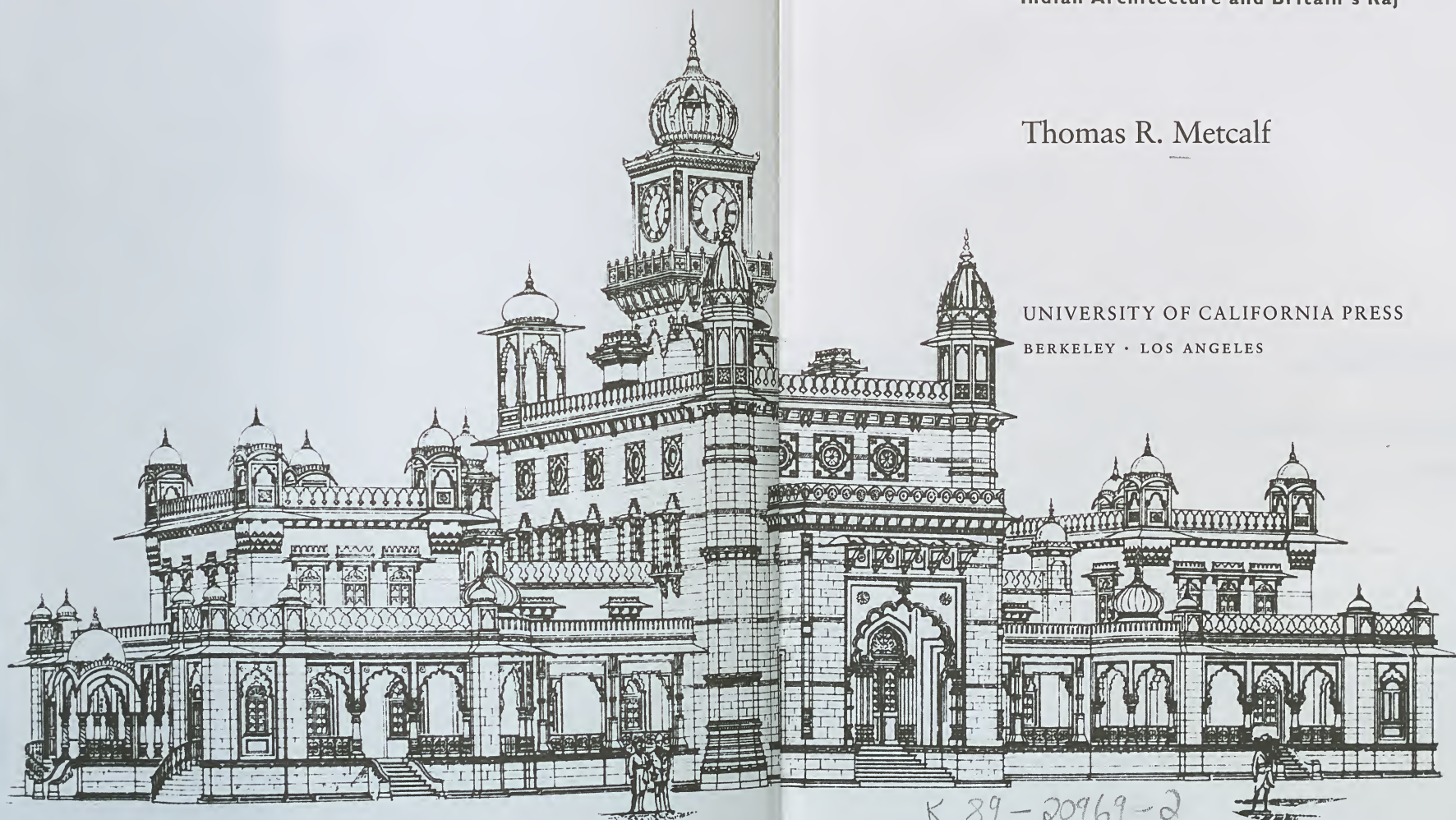
An Imperial Vision

Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj

Thomas R. Metcalf

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Preface

This work examines the relationship between culture and power as expressed in architecture during the heyday of European colonialism. It takes as its primary focus the British Raj in India, and it asks at once how political authority took shape in stone, and how, in turn, these colonial buildings helped shape the discourse on empire of the later nineteenth century. At its heart is an analysis of the distinctive architectural forms that sought to manifest the ideals of imperialism and which took as their objective the enhancing of the hold of empire over ruler and ruled alike. This architecture drew both upon European classical styles and upon those of India's past, above all those associated with the Mughal Empire. Whether derived from Indian or Western models, these buildings did not simply transplant into colonial India their parent forms, but rather transformed them to fit the colonial environment. To study colonial architecture is therefore to study the allocation of power, and the relationships of knowledge and power, that made up the colonial order.

The book is not a general history of British building in India. It makes no attempt to cover all periods, nor to examine all the major structures or styles of architecture. Some of these subjects have been treated elsewhere. Several recent works survey the history of the architecture of the Raj; some focus upon particular topics, among them the building of New Delhi; others explore distinctive colonial architectural forms, such as the bungalow. The volume is not, in any case, meant to be a work of architectural history. I examine individual buildings only as they illuminate the larger themes of culture and power that form the focus of the book, and I try to avoid judging the aesthetic quality of any of the buildings discussed.

I have chosen here to examine monumental architecture, the buildings put up by India's rulers for important civic and public purposes. As the erection of such structures forced the British to confront openly fundamental questions about the nature and purpose of their Raj, an analysis of the discourse that surrounds these buildings provides a way, at once revealing yet manageably coherent, to approach the study of culture and power in colonialism. Colonial building was not confined, of course, to large public monuments. Its forms shaped such humble utilitarian structures as the bridges, canals, courts, and cantonments that announced the existence of Britain's Raj throughout the subcontinent. These buildings, the bread and butter of the Public Works Department, together with the larger issues of colonial urban planning and design, vast subjects of study in their own right, must inevitably be excluded from this work.

I have endeavored as well to set India in the larger context of the British Empire. I do not attempt the immense task of assessing the nature of building throughout the Empire. My objective rather is twofold: to make clear that colonial building in India is not unique but expressive of broader currents that set off the colonial world from that of Europe; and at the same time to sharpen those contrasts that do exist between the nature of colonialism in India and that in colonial territories elsewhere. I have chosen, in particular, to examine the work of Herbert Baker in South Africa, both because Baker went on to collaborate with Edwin Lutyens in the building of New Delhi and, more important, because such structures as Baker's Union Buildings in Pretoria enable us to appreciate more fully the colonial culture that at once binds and separates India and South Africa.

Throughout I argue that architecture actively informs and gives meaning to the nature of Britain's Raj. As a result, the work inevitably focuses on the British: on what they did, and what they thought they were doing, as they created an architecture of their own in India. Why they conceived of India and its people as they did, and how they turned the knowledge they thought they had gained to the purposes of empire, are the central themes of the book. The Indian people, as audience for this architectural activity, played of course a central role in it, but for the most part, until the twentieth century, they existed for the British only as a collection of stereotyped categories. Rarely did Indians themselves participate in the erection of a monumental architecture. With the government in foreign hands, the occasions for large-scale architecture were few and were limited, for the most part, to the princely rulers of the Indian states. I do not

endeavor here to assess at all fully the Indian response to British building. Such a study would require a volume of its own. I have, however, by examining the architecture of the palaces erected by several of the more important princes, sought to explore at least some of the complex and ambivalent ways these men came to terms with British rule.

I am grateful to the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation for a fellowship that enabled me to carry out field research on this project in India and South Africa during the year 1982, and to the Institute of International Studies of the University of California, Berkeley, for the provision of research assistance over several years and for support of travel to England and Australia. Without the travel this assistance made possible, the project could never have been completed. The support provided by a University of California Humanities Research Fellowship during 1985, together with University sabbatical funds during the same year, enabled me to complete the bulk of the writing of the manuscript.

I am indebted to the staffs of a number of libraries and archives, who made their facilities available to me. Among them are the National Archives of India, New Delhi; the National Library, Calcutta; the India Office Library and Records, London; the British Library, especially the periodical collection at Colindale; the Transvaal Archive Depot, Pretoria; and the University of Cape Town Archives. The Royal Institute of British Architects, London, kindly gave me access not only to their extensive library and photographic archive but also to the original correspondence of the architects Edwin Lutyens and Herbert Baker in their possession. I am especially indebted to the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi, whose director, Dr. Ravinder Kumar, welcomed me with an affiliation and ready access to the library's collections throughout my year in India. In Jaipur the staff of the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh Museum at the City Palace, especially Dr. A. K. Das, the director, and Mr. Yadvendra Sahai, were exceptionally helpful in my study of the building activities of the maharajas of Jaipur; while H. H. the Maharaja Dr. Karni Singh of Bikaner and his staff gave me the benefit of their knowledge of Maharaja Ganga Singh.

I want to acknowledge my indebtedness to a number of universities in the United States, India, Australia, and South Africa, who offered me opportunities to share with them my work on colonial architecture. I wish especially to thank the Department of History and School of Architecture of the University of Cape Town, and Prof. Martin West, chairman of the Department of Anthropology, for their hospitality during my

visit in 1982. In this country I used the occasion of my appointment as Charles Phelps Taft Lecturer at the University of Cincinnati to develop ideas for several chapters, and I wish to thank Prof. Barbara Ramusack for arranging the visit, as well as for sharing with me her knowledge of princely India.

I am grateful to Dane Kennedy, Kelsey Clark Underwood, Peter Hoffenberg, and Lata Mani for their careful research assistance over the years this project has been under way. Their contributions extend well beyond simple bibliographic work. I want to thank Sue Grayzell and Krystyna von Henneberg for preparing the index under severe time pressure, and Betsey Scheiner for her helpful editorial supervision as the manuscript went through the press. Bernard Cohn and Paul Rabinow, by their own studies on colonialism, and in conversations over several years, have stimulated my thinking on this and other subjects. Catherine Asher helped me understand Indian Islamic architecture and the ways the British used its elements in their building. Ira Lapidus and Narayani Gupta gave me the benefit of their comments on substantial portions of the final manuscript. Thomas Laqueur encouraged me to submit an early draft of chapter 3 to the journal *Representations*, and has always provoked me to question and clarify everything I wrote. Throughout, my wife, Barbara, by her enthusiasm encouraged me to proceed and inspired me by the example of her own scholarship to a sympathetic yet critical understanding of India's history under British rule. My sons, Benjamin and Christopher, put up patiently with the interruption of their normal lives a year's research in India entailed, but found compensation in the delights of touring the country in search of the monuments this book describes. To them this volume is dedicated.

1

Introduction

Speaking before the Society of Arts in 1873 on architectural art in India, T. Roger Smith, recently returned from practice in Bombay, concluded his discussion by urging that "as our administration exhibits European justice, order, law, energy, and honour—and that in no hesitating or feeble way—so our buildings ought to hold up a high standard of European art. They ought to be European both as a rallying point for ourselves, and as raising a distinctive symbol of our presence to be beheld with respect and even with admiration by the natives of the country." No sooner had Smith taken his seat than William Emerson, who had just completed a design in an Indic style for a college in Allahabad, rose to dissent. The British, he maintained, should not carry into India a new style of architecture, but rather should follow the example of those whom they had supplanted as conquerors, the Muslims, who "seized upon the art indigenous to the countries conquered, adapting it to suit their own needs and ideas." Indeed, he insisted, "it was impossible for the architecture of the west to be suitable to the natives of the east."¹

A debate was thus joined that was to continue unabated for over fifty years: whether in their building in India the British ought to look to their own, or to India's, architectural traditions. The choice between styles did not turn solely, or even primarily, upon aesthetic concerns. As with the ongoing contest between classical and Gothic within Britain itself, such decisions involved as well larger conceptions of national identity and purpose. Indeed, by providing a vocabulary for the consideration of those questions, the architectural debates themselves defined and helped shape Britain's sense of itself and of its imperial mission. In India, and in

colonies elsewhere, the choice of styles, the arrangement of space within a building, and of course the decision to erect a particular structure, all testified, as both Smith and Emerson were aware, to a vision of empire. This introductory chapter will examine briefly some of the larger questions posed by the creation of a colonial architecture, and then assess the ways—partial and ambiguous—that an imperial vision shaped building during the days of the East India Company (1772–1858).

Architecture and the Culture of Colonialism

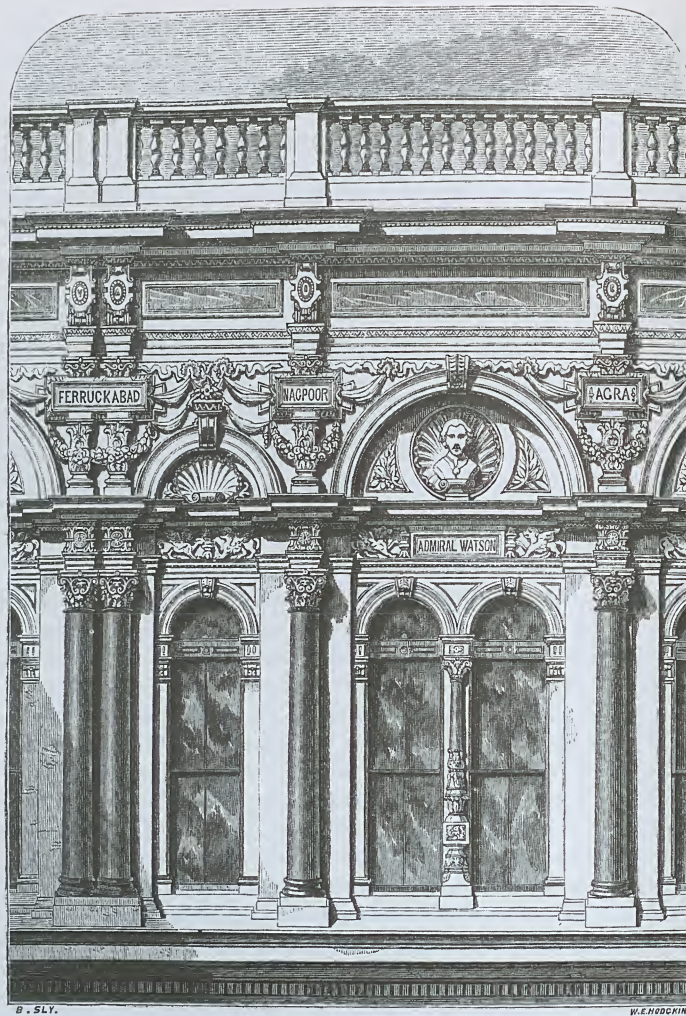
Regardless of their choice of style, all architects who worked in the British Empire shared a set of attitudes and expectations that set off their architectural enterprise from that of their colleagues at home. Taken together, these helped form what may be called a distinctive colonial culture. Most central was a concern with political effect. In the public buildings put up by the Raj it was essential always to make visible Britain's imperial position as ruler, for these structures were charged with the explicit purpose of representing empire itself. As precedent for his colonial building, the classically educated Englishman, from the late eighteenth century onward, looked toward ancient Rome. With its roads, its system of laws, and its monumental structures spread across the face of the ancient world, Rome stood always as an exemplar to spur the British on in their own imperial enterprise. As Smith proudly announced in his 1873 talk, "Were the British occupation of India to terminate tomorrow, the visible tokens would survive in our canals, and our railways, our ports, and our public buildings, or, at least, the remains of them for centuries to come." He went on, while urging the adoption of a European style of architecture for India, to draw a further parallel. The Romans, he said, "unquestionably not only cut their roads and pitched their camps in Roman fashion, but put up Roman buildings wherever they had occasion to build; . . . the Roman governor of a province in Gaul or Britain continued to be as intensely Roman in his exile as the English collector remains British to the backbone in the heart of India."²

Contemporaneous architecture in Britain was not itself without political significance, nor was it lacking in classical allusion. The Whig country houses of the eighteenth century, for instance, though not constructed as palaces, still, by their solid and imposing size and their placement in vast parks, made manifest the wealth and power of this landed

elite, who controlled the government alike in Parliament and in the countryside.³ In early-Victorian times the intense controversy, known as the "battle of the styles," that surrounded the construction of such buildings as the Houses of Parliament, the Foreign Office, and the Law Courts, cut to the heart of how the British conceived of their past history and their future governance. For its protagonists, Gothic not only expressed a sense of religious devotion but was, in the view of such architects as Gilbert Scott, a national style, whose use would permit Britons to "celebrate the achievements of our own country." Classical styles, by contrast, affirmed Britain's ties to the continent, to the Palladian traditions of palatial architecture and, beyond, to those of imperial Rome. To build the Foreign Office in a classical mode, as a "majestic palace, regular and lofty, imposing to the eye," was to assert Britain's predominance in the larger world order. Hence Gilbert Scott, the chosen architect of the new Foreign Office, in 1859 was ordered by the prime minister, Lord Palmerston, to transform his medievalized design into one "after the Italian manner." The appeal of Rome, and of Italy, then being unified by Cavour and Garibaldi, remained strong even at the height of the Gothic era.⁴

In the colonial empire the political aims of architectural representation were somewhat different. The Colonial and India Office buildings in Whitehall, in fact, themselves indicated something of the distinctive character of empire. Both structures, designed by Scott and aligned with the Foreign Office, were classical in their architectural form. Most revealing, however, was their sculptural ornamentation. The topmost story of the Foreign Office was decorated with a series of sculpted figures emblematic of different countries, such as France and Italy. Similar figures set on the India Office, however, represented not nations but "Indian tribes, an Afghani, a Goorka, a Malay, a Mahratta, and so on," social categories identified by the British as significant for their rule of the subcontinent. While the inner court of the Foreign Office was plain, that of the India Office was decorated with busts and statues of "celebrated worthies, both civil and military, connected with the Indian empire" (fig. 1).⁵

The sculpture atop the nearby Colonial Office offered an allegorical commentary on these two sets of figures, Indian and British. The centerpiece was Britannia in Roman garb, seated upon her throne, surveying her realm from high above, with the British lion and unicorn at her side. Attending her were classical figures representing Knowledge, or Enlightenment, and Power. In this tableau, as in the India Office sculpture, one can read clearly the message of empire: that Britain ruled by



1. Detail of the inner court of the India Office. From *The Builder*, 26 October 1867.

conquest, as the statues of soldiers and “statesmen” made manifest, and also by understanding, as the Indian figures on the pediment attested. To rule, one had to master, by ordering and labeling, that which one had conquered; to know was, in some measure, already to rule. An imperial architecture was thus an architecture both of knowledge and of power. In addition, the notion of Enlightenment expressed an ideal of impartiality or fairness. Power was not to be exercised arbitrarily, or knowledge used only for the benefit of the conqueror. A similar allegory, derived again from Roman ideals, marked the statue of Lord Cornwallis, garbed in antique dress, erected in the Calcutta Town Hall. Governor-general from 1785 to 1793, Cornwallis was here represented as a proconsul bringing prosperity to Britain’s new dominion by means of law and the power of arms. Although at the turn of the nineteenth century classical allegories were commonplace in England, in India, as Nilsson points out, such Roman “masquerading” had a special significance, for “Cornwallis represented at one and the same time an ancient European power which had subdued part of Asia, and a modern nation which felt itself strong enough to dare to do likewise.”⁶ While it might share much of its vocabulary with Britain, the architecture of empire spoke to other concerns.

British colonial building expressed as well a sense, intensely felt by the British, of the “tropics” as a place with a strange climate and alien peoples. T. Roger Smith, in an earlier talk in 1867 before the Royal Institute of British Architects, put it perhaps most bluntly. Though it may “provoke a smile,” he began, “to say that the great peculiarity of a tropical climate is that it is very hot there, nevertheless that *is* the great peculiarity, and the one point an architect must never forget.” This fear of the tropical climate was not a matter of heat alone. As Smith continued, “It is also very light in such a climate; at some periods of the year it is further very wet, the rain falling at times in torrents.” Smith then went on to describe the insect and reptile life of the tropics and concluded by noting that “the people who will be about you in the tropics are essentially different from Europeans. They will be all, or nearly all, natives; and if in India, all of various castes.”⁷ Nor was a “tropical” climate confined only to India or to areas of intense heat. Dangerous solar rays lurked even in the otherwise hospitable cool highlands of Kenya.⁸ The “tropics,” as the Victorian Englishman conceived of them, were not solely a climatic zone. They existed rather as a cultural zone, charged with a special significance: defined partly by the assumption that England’s climate was the

norm and, more important, by an unspoken fear of potentially threatening lands and peoples. The colonial world, Smith was telling his audience, was a special place, set apart from Europe.

Yet this hostile environment was susceptible of control. Indeed, empire, by its very existence, implied that Europeans could subdue this alien world. Colonial architecture visibly represented this sense of mastery. Smith, in his 1867 address, put the matter succinctly. Where, he said, "the sun's heat is so powerful that nothing but English pluck prevents the attempt to work being altogether given up . . . and where it is impossible for an European to expose himself safely to its rays—where walking a few hundred yards at mid-day, even under an umbrella, would be an exhausting and imprudent exertion," special precautions were required for survival.⁹ Among these were distinctive wearing apparel, such as the famous solar topee, and distinctive architectural forms.

Indians had of course over the centuries developed ways to accommodate the country's severe climate in their building. Among these were the enclosed courtyard, small shuttered windows, and an arrangement of rooms which provided a cool basement (*tykhana*) and an open sleeping roof. For their domestic architecture the British looked instead toward the bungalow. Originally a thatched-roof hut of Bengal (hence the name), the bungalow was first developed as a colonial residence in India and then spread throughout the Empire, from Australia to Africa.¹⁰ The British adopted the bungalow form, in contrast to, say, the courtyard form, not just for reasons of climate, but because the bungalow ideally combined with climatic adaptation a political purpose: that of social distancing. Its thick walls and high ceilings, while providing ample ventilation, sheltered its English inhabitants from the hostile world outside; and the encircling verandah at once shaded the main structure and provided the arena for a carefully regulated intercourse with that world. The sense of social distance—and of superiority—was reinforced by the placement of the bungalow in a large compound, with an impressive entry drive and with access regulated by walls, gates, and watchmen. In the city, where space was at a premium, and especially in settlement colonies where the elite was less wealthy and social distancing less urgent, the bungalows might be reduced in size and set on smaller plots. Even in its most compressed form, that of the Australian terraced house, this building style preserved something of the verandah, ornately decorated with cast iron, and utilized a tin roof to ward off heavy rains. In England the bungalow

found a footing only as a seaside or country retreat for holidays or retirement. In a similar fashion, as we shall see, Indian architectural elements found a place in English public building largely in structures devoted to amusement. Nor is the absence of the bungalow from England at all surprising, for this was a building form that housed a distinctively colonial style of life.

Civic building too endeavored to accommodate, in similar ways, the needs of what the British perceived as the special requirements of the tropical climate. Smith himself indicated what was required. Buildings ought to incorporate such features, he said, as walls of ample thickness to fend off heat, an absence of vertical forms such as buttresses that might interrupt the flow of air, a "constant preference" for horizontal cornices to cast shade, "frequent and ample" openings, piers and columns "frequent and numerous," a "constant use of balconies and corbelled projections," and above all "an ample space around the whole building and its surroundings."¹¹ In sum, whether public or private, colonial architecture remained always distinct. Neither English nor Indian, it made tangible and helped define the uniquely colonial culture of which it was a part.

Architecture did not by itself, or alone, express the culture of colonialism. It was embedded in a larger system of colonial control that found expression in the creation of a general sociology of knowledge. This structure of knowledge, now frequently referred to as "Orientalism," involved the creation of theories of society and culture which set out to locate colonial subjects in relation to the society of the rulers through the construction of such categories as primitive, archaic, savage, backward, or traditional. By the use of these categories social groups were defined and bounded, hierarchized as inferiors in relation to Europeans, and in turn assigned roles in the native society as peasants, artisans, "traditional" elites, "martial races," "criminal tribes," "Hindus," and the like. Such knowledge, with the institutions and codes of conduct that expressed it, shaped the colonial rulers' view of the peoples over whom they ruled, and explained, as it justified, their actions.¹² This European capacity to create and control a dominated "other" found expression in a host of ways, among them public rituals, the organization of the colonial armed forces, the publication of histories and gazetteers that purported to describe the native peoples, decisions as to who was and who was not entitled to possess agricultural land, and the taking of censuses ordered by religious affiliation and a carefully ranked series of castes.

Though architecture commands our attention here, one must always remember that it was but one manifestation of an interconnected structure of power and knowledge that informed colonialism everywhere.

Classical Architecture and the Representation of Empire, 1780–1850

Architecture represented the authority of Britain's Raj in the colonial city from the very outset. By its very nature, indeed, the colonial city embodied an assertion of conquest. Two buildings, placed strategically at its very heart, made visible its essential character: a massive fort and an imposing Government House. Where, as in Australia, neither the indigenous peoples nor European rivals posed a threat, the Government House might stand alone, but in the three great cities founded by the East India Company—Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras—as in Cape Town, the fort from the first days of settlement marked out the presence of an occupying colonial power. Initially, of course, the fort was meant only for the defense of a tiny mercantile enclave. But, from the mid-eighteenth century, as British power expanded, the forts were rebuilt and enlarged. Indeed, an unauthorized British extension of Fort William in Calcutta precipitated the nawab's 1756 attack that led in turn to the encounter at Plassey the following year. There Robert Clive routed the forces of the nawab Suraj-ud-daula and so laid the foundations of British rule in India.

The fort was not only the residence of the garrison. Well into the nineteenth century, and in Madras up to the present, the fort remained the seat of the presidency government, and it helped shape an urban design in which considerations of defense remained always important. Arrayed around its ramparts, and defining a "white" town separate from a "black" town, were the mercantile offices, churches, clubs, and spacious bungalows that housed the colonial elite and gave shape to the colonial city. These two sections of the city—the European and the Indian—shared little in the way of social or economic institutions. In smaller up-country towns, as British rule extended into the interior, a cantonment of troops and a "civil lines" housing the colonial officials adjacent to the "native city" served a similar purpose of visibly representing the power of the Raj. After the shock of the Mutiny in 1857 a renewed emphasis on defense saw the Mughal Red Fort in Delhi taken over by a British garrison, while in Lahore the "fort-like" railway station was given a "defensive character," so that a "small garrison" could secure it against attack.¹³

In their architectural style the early colonial buildings transplanted overseas the predominant European mode of the time, that of the classical revival. As tastes changed, different buildings followed different classical models. For the most part the later-eighteenth-century structures continued the baroque classicism associated in England with Sir Christopher Wren. In Madras, Fort St. George (1760) and the Banqueting Hall (1802), with Tuscan columns supporting a high pediment and heavy entablature, adopted this style. By the early nineteenth century, as the severe Doric neoclassicism of the Greek revival came into favor, it too found expression in India, sometimes blended with the Palladian, as in the Calcutta Town Hall (1807–13), and sometimes alone, in such buildings as the Bombay Town Hall (1833), Calcutta Mint (1824–31), and Metcalfe Hall (1840), the latter modeled upon the Athenian Temple of the Winds. Nor were the presidency capitals alone adorned with neoclassical structures. The British residency buildings in Hyderabad and Lucknow, both erected in about 1800, marked out British authority in these princely states of the interior with imposing structures derived from Palladian models.¹⁴

Even though they adopted standard European architectural forms, these neoclassical buildings took on in India an enhanced meaning. Many of the early colonial churches, for instance, were modeled on the prototype of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Trafalgar Square, in London. This was due in large part to the easy availability of the plans of this church, published in 1728 by the architect James Gibbs, which made it a convenient model for engineers in far-off colonies, who had but little interest in the design of churches. Such a church as St. John's Calcutta (1787) or St. Andrew's Madras (1818) could as easily have stood in Manchester or Bristol. Yet in India these churches by their very existence announced a British intention to remain permanently as colonial rulers. Their soaring spires spoke not only of God but of the growing political power of the English as they set out to mark their presence, and the superiority of their faith, on the land of India.¹⁵

The Government House provides the clearest architectural assertion of empire. These viceregal residences, despite their apparent similarity to such structures as Buckingham Palace in London, served quite different purposes. A Government House was not, like the Palace, a symbolic focus of national sentiment and the residence of a royal dynasty, but was rather a representation of the authority of an imperial power and the residence of that power's representative in the colony. Even in Australia,

where the population was of European origin, colonial Government Houses were placed upon commanding sites and, once the colony possessed sufficient wealth to support them, constructed in an elaborate architectural style. The Sydney Government House (1840), for instance, in a highly ornate Tudor Gothic, was set upon a hillside location that secured it a sweeping view of the harbor, while that in Adelaide, though initially only a three-room wattle and daub "hut," was reconstructed in the 1840s as an imposing residence with an Italianate entrance portico and spacious grounds. The gold rush of the 1850s made possible the erection of the most magnificent of all Australia's Government Houses, that in Melbourne (1872), built in an Italianate style, focused upon an ornately decorated tower, and set high upon a hill overlooking the town. The interior included a vast State Ballroom, entered at one end through a formal *porte-cochère*, and possessing at the other, under an elaborately carved and painted ceiling, a viceregal throne on a dais. In its scale the building overwhelms even Queen Victoria's own Osborne House, designed by the same architect.¹⁶

India's rich trade and agriculture made possible the building of imposing Government Houses as soon as the British had consolidated their rule. Yet in these early years the British had no clear sense of the shape that rule ought to take, nor was there even agreement that its existence ought to be represented in architecture at all. Though conquerors of India, the British still acknowledged the supremacy of the titular Mughal emperor in Delhi, while at home the directors of the East India Company, anxious to secure as much profit as possible from their Indian possessions, were unhappy at the prospect of an expensive building program. Hence the construction of India's first Government Houses, in Madras and Calcutta, the two most prosperous of the early British Indian cities, was marked by intense controversy. The Madras structure was built by Lord Clive, governor 1798–1803, while that in Calcutta, the home of India's viceroy until the capital was transferred to Delhi a century later, was erected during the same years by the governor-general, Lord Wellesley (1798–1805). Set in a vast English-style park, the Madras Government House is distinguished by an immense two-storied colonnaded verandah. Its most striking feature, however, is the separate Banqueting Hall, set on a high podium with Tuscan-Doric columns rising through two stories (fig. 2). Sphinxes guarded the entrance stairway, while its huge pediments were decorated with trophies of two conquests

that laid the foundations of the Raj: the siege of Seringapatnam (1799) over the northern entrance, the battle of Plassey (1757) over the southern. The interior, formed as a large hall for entertaining, was ornately decorated, and the walls were lined with portraits of famous Indian officers. The structure clearly celebrated the martial exploits of the British in India and, as Nilsson has written, "functioned very like a *Heroum*, a neo-Classical temple for hero worship." The East India Company directors, still committed to a vision of the British as peaceful traders in India,



2. Banqueting Hall, Madras (1802). Photograph by author.

appreciated the significance of this new Government House; and they did not like it. As they wrote to Clive, "It by no means appears to us essential to the well-being of our Government in India that the pomp, magnificence and ostentation of the Native Governments should be adopted by the former; the expense to which such a system would naturally lead must prove highly injurious to our commercial interests."¹⁷ In the end Clive was recalled, but his building, like the Raj whose "growing domination" it represented, inevitably remained.

The design of the Calcutta Government House is equally revealing. In form this building was modeled on the country residence of Lord Scarsdale, Kedleston Hall in Derbyshire, built in the 1760s to the designs of Robert Adam. The choice of an eighteenth-century baronial seat as the model for the viceregal palace testifies in part to the Whig conviction that the baroque country mansion, more effectively than any other structure, expressed the power and authority of government. The Kedleston design had the further advantage of being well suited to Calcutta's climate, for its formal rooms were grouped in a stately central pile, while the domestic quarters occupied four spreading wings, where they could, as Curzon wrote, "seize every breath of air from whatever quarter" and so "relieve the petty aggravations of life."¹⁸ By stretching out in all four directions, with the viceroy seated ceremonially at the centerpoint, the wings could be seen too as expressing the expanding power of the British Raj as it grew to encompass all India.

Yet Kedleston Hall was not simply reproduced intact in Calcutta. Rather, certain elements of the design were enhanced to project an effect of magnificence and splendor (fig. 3). At Calcutta the structure rose three stories, including its raised basement, instead of Kedleston's two, thus increasing its overall impressiveness, while the grand staircase was moved to the exterior, on the cooler northern side. This forced the residents to ascend to the upper floors by tiny corner staircases, but enhanced the visual appeal of the structure from the outside and made possible as well a ceremonial entry, in the full view of all Calcutta, past a detachment of the viceroy's bodyguard posted along the steps. The state rooms of the interior too were lavishly decorated. The State Dining Room, for instance, or Marble Hall, consisted of "a central nave separated by pillars from side aisles on the model of a Roman atrium"; the walls of the aisles were decorated with life-size marble busts of the Twelve Caesars. Beyond lay the Throne Room, while above was the State Ball Room, the scene throughout the nineteenth century of lavish entertainments and formal receptions.



3. Government House, Calcutta, c. 1860. Photograph courtesy of the British Library.

Like the Marble Hall beneath, the Ball Room sported a double row of columns and an "immense number" of chandeliers lighted by candles.¹⁹

This assertion of an impressive grandeur was undertaken consciously, with a view to its political effect. As Lord Valentia wrote after the opening ceremony, in an attempt to turn aside the criticism of the East India Company directors, who soon afterward recalled Wellesley, "The sums expended upon it [Government House] have been considered as extravagant by those who carry European ideas and European economy into Asia, but they ought to remember that India is a country of splendour, of extravagance, and of outward appearances; that the head of a mighty empire ought to conform himself to the prejudices of the country he rules over." In short, he concluded, India ought "to be ruled from a palace, not from a counting-house; with the ideas of a Prince, not with those of a retail dealer in muslins and indigo."²⁰

Eventually, as we shall see, the notion of Indians as an "Oriental" people to whose "prejudices" their British rulers had to "conform" was to lead to the development of an Indian-styled architecture for the Raj. In the early nineteenth century, however, when the conception of the Raj as an empire was itself contested, Wellesley sought simply to announce Britain's predominance: to make clear—to the Company and to the Indians

alike—that the British were no longer mere indigo dealers. For this purpose the “palatial” classical architecture of his Government House, like Lord Clive’s in Madras, was at once sufficient and appropriate. The building’s setting reinforced this impression. Isolated at the head of the Calcutta *maidan*, in its own extensive compound, marked by neo-classical gates crowned by lions, without even trees to obscure the view, the Government House loomed over the city, so that all might see, and appreciate, the power of the Raj.

Nearby structures, from the official buildings along the Esplanade to the imposing private houses along Chowringhee Road, each in its own large compound, complemented the design of Government House, which itself focused a series of vistas through the heart of the city, so that by the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century Calcutta presented an appearance at once classical and imperial. As one visitor, Maria Graham, wrote in 1809, “We felt that we were approaching a great capital. On landing I was struck with the general appearance of grandeur in all the buildings; not that any of them are according to the strict rules of art, but groups of columns, porticoes, domes, and fine gateways, interspersed with trees and the broad river crowded with shipping, made the whole picture magnificent.” Bishop Heber in the 1820s even compared Calcutta’s neoclassical architecture with that of the imperial Russian capital, St. Petersburg. Madras too, spread out along the seafront, impressed observers as a majestic classical city. As early as 1781 William Hodges wrote of its buildings that their “long colonnades, with open porticoes and flat roofs” offer to the eye “an appearance similar to that what we may conceive of a Grecian city in the age of Alexander.”²¹

Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, even after tastes began to shift in Europe, British building in India continued in a classical, and increasingly Greek, mode. The Mutiny Memorial Hall in Madras, erected in 1860 to celebrate that city’s escape from the rising of the Bengal Army, was in the style of a columned Grecian temple, whereas the Lawrence and Montgomery halls (1862, 1866) in Lahore, capital of the Punjab, and named after its first two British lieutenant-governors, carried European classical architecture into this distant and recently conquered province.²² In part, no doubt, the use of such forms so late into the Victorian era was a product of the inevitable time lag found in a remote colonial society, wedded always to fashions just out of date. In Madras too, so many of whose nineteenth-century rulers were Scots, the classical forms that still dominated the architecture of Edinburgh, the “Athens of

the North,” inevitably found a congenial home. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that classical forms remained attractive in India because their “eternal principles of ordered beauty,” as Herbert Baker later described the elements of classical architecture, fitted the English conception of how a worldwide empire ought to be represented in stone.²³ After all, as this architecture incorporated an aesthetic perfection that stood above the vagaries of time, so too did it proclaim overseas the superiority of the Western culture which had created it. It is no accident that such classically styled structures as the Madras Memorial Hall and the Lahore Montgomery Hall celebrated the heroes, and the triumphs, of Britain’s Raj—the successor, as its creators saw it, to Alexander and to Rome. (See plate 1.)

Yet, paradoxically, one might argue, these grand classical buildings marked out the limits, or one might say the incomplete nature, of Britain’s empire in India during the early nineteenth century. The British had conquered the land by virtue of their superior military force, and so subordinated the Indian people to their rule; but they had developed no conception of their Raj as an imperial Indian state, nor had they as a government penetrated Indian society at all deeply. They did not indeed yet possess knowledge of India and its peoples sufficient to permit them to do so effectively. The government remained in the hands of a mercantile company and the Mughal emperor still sat on his throne at Delhi. Hence, not surprisingly, British building in India inevitably and of necessity remained confined within a European, and largely classical, idiom.

Because a classical architecture represented in India not so much empire as the military and cultural supremacy of the West, Indians could themselves be drawn toward it. Especially those who lived among the British in the presidency towns saw in these classical buildings symbols of the modern world they sought to enter. As the architectural historian James Fergusson wrote, somewhat facetiously, in 1862, “When we find the surtout-coat and tight-fitting garments of the West in possession of the streets of Constantinople, superseding their own beautiful costume, we ought not to be surprised at the ‘Orders’ [of classical architecture] being introduced simultaneously: and when native princes in India clothed their armies in caricatures of European infantry, it was impossible that they should escape the architectural contagion also.”²⁴ A building such as Pachaiyappa’s Hall (1840), modeled on the Athenian Temple of Theseus and established as the first English school in Madras by the bequest of an Indian merchant, announced, fittingly, the inauguration of a new

era in India. Indian princes and landlords too, such as the nawabs of Oudh, caught up as participants in Britain's Raj, yet retaining a footing in the older order, erected Europeanized structures that, as we shall see, blended Indian and Western forms in unique and original ways.²⁵

As Fergusson's disparaging comments indicate, the British were never comfortable with the incorporation by Indians into their building of elements of the European architectural heritage. Such building brought too clearly into view the contradiction inherent in the very nature of the Raj. The British in India used a classical architecture, and European architectural styles generally, to proclaim their Raj as an enduring empire like that of Rome. Yet, at the same time, such styles, like the contemporaneous introduction under Macaulay of English education, announced a transformation of India's society on a European model. The tension between these contrasting ideals—a proud assertion of empire over an alien people, and an intention to remake India on Western lines so that empire would no longer be required—could not easily be resolved. Throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, therefore, the use of classical architecture was charged in India with a double-edged meaning.

India and the Search for the Picturesque

Alongside the enduring ideals of classicism there grew up, in the later eighteenth century, an artistic movement that sought beauty, not in ordered regularity but in the wild, the romantic, and the quaint. This vision of the "picturesque" first found expression in William Gilpin's essays and in his drawings of the English Lake District. But the ideals that shaped the "picturesque" were by no means confined to England or to landscape painting. India too, with its great rivers and mountain ranges, its ancient ruins and colorful peasantry, appealed powerfully to those who sought out the picturesque. "The scenery," wrote one traveler, a surgeon in the Royal Navy, as his ship cleared Ceylon, "is truly romantic; the hills and mountains rising in the wildest order and most fantastic shapes imaginable: abrupt precipices, pleasant vallies, thick groves, towering cliffs, and lofty mountains, are here seen intermingled in 'regular confusion,' and clothed in nature's most verdant livery." Subsequent travelers, as the British extended their conquests into the interior of the subcontinent, recorded their impressions of its beauty under such titles as Fanny Parks's *Wander-*

ings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque (1850) and C. R. Forrest's *A Picturesque Tour Along the Rivers Ganges and Jumna* (1824).²⁶

The first professional artist to tour India extensively was William Hodges (1744–97). Fresh from his travels in the South Seas with Captain James Cook, Hodges spent three years (1780–83) sketching the land, the people, and the architectural remains of northern and eastern India. A decade later Thomas Daniell and his nephew William wandered all across the country, even into the uncharted regions of the Himalaya, during a period of seven years, sketching, drawing, and painting as they went. On their return to England, first Hodges and then the Daniells published extensive volumes of Indian views. Of these the most influential, and the most commercially successful, was the Daniells' *Oriental Scenery* (1795–1803), a six-volume work containing 144 colored aquatints. These works, as the Daniells wrote in *A Picturesque Voyage to India* (1810), enabled the artist "to transport to Europe the picturesque beauties of these favoured regions."²⁷

Together with an appreciation of India's "picturesque" scenery went a fascination with its architecture, seen as at once ancient, exotic, and grand. The cave temples, especially Elephanta readily accessible on an island in Bombay harbor, excited the greatest admiration. Visitors in search of the romantic found these caves, with their immense statues of Hindu deities, ideal subjects for wonder. "I confess," the traveler Maria Graham wrote of Elephanta, "that I never felt such a sensation of astonishment as when the cavern opened upon me." At once picturesque and imposing, a testimony to the genius of India's builders, these caves were, in the view of men like Hodges, the "prototype" for India's later constructive architecture.²⁸

Mughal building too appealed to seekers after the picturesque. Of Akbar's tomb outside Agra, Hodges wrote, "A blazing Eastern sun shining full on this building, composed of such varied materials, produces a glare of splendour almost beyond the imagination of an inhabitant of these northern climates to conceive; and the present solitude that reigns over the whole of the neglected garden, excites involuntarily a melancholy pensiveness." Of the Taj Mahal he said simply, "The effect is such, I confess, I never experienced from any work of art. The fine materials, the beautiful forms, and the symmetry of the whole, with the judicious choice of situation, far surpasses any thing I ever beheld." Why, he concluded, boldly challenging the accepted canons of eighteenth-century

classical taste, should we admire Greek architecture in "an exclusive manner," and so, "blind to the majesty, boldness and magnificence of the Egyptian, Hindoo, Moorish, and Gothic, as admirable wonders of architecture, unmercifully blame and despise them, because they are more various in their forms, and not reducible to the precise rules of the Greek hut prototype and column?"²⁹

As these artists' drawings, with the vision that sustained them, were circulated in Britain, they nourished a new style of "orientalized" architecture that incorporated elements of Indian design. As we have seen, the English of the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century were not yet fully committed to an imperial role for themselves in India. Hence India's architecture was taken up, not as a design for empire, but, with that of China and the Middle East, as a convenient way to represent the exotic and the picturesque. The "Barbaric splendour of those Asiatick buildings," as Sir Joshua Reynolds argued, though not "Models to copy," supplied "hints of composition and general effect which would not otherwise have occurred."³⁰ The use of Indian decorative motifs in Britain, one might say, had much in common with the creation of a classically styled architecture in India. The one announced a fascination with India, the other an assertion of control over it, but neither constructed a vision that incorporated these peoples and their buildings in an architecture of empire.

For the most part those whom one might have expected to take the lead in the incorporation of Indian elements in their building—the wealthy nabobs returned with fortunes gained in Bengal—did not do so. These men sought, by purchasing country houses and seats in Parliament, to gain acceptance as members of Britain's ruling landed gentry. Despite the persistence of certain Indianized habits, they had no desire to represent themselves by their architecture as in any way visibly different from the gentry among whom they lived. Hence their residences remained firmly embedded in the Palladian tradition. Apart from Warren Hastings's house at Daylesford (1788), with a quasi-Mughal dome on its otherwise classical facade, only one country house, that of Sezincote in Gloucestershire (1805), possessed an architecture shaped by elements of Indian design (fig. 4).³¹

Sezincote owed its existence to the unusual collaboration of the owner of the property, the returned nabob Sir Charles Cockerell, with his brother the architect Samuel Pepys Cockerell, who built the house, and



4. Sezincote, Gloucestershire (1805). Photograph by author.

the artist Thomas Daniell, who ensured that the design elements remained faithful to those of the Mughal buildings he had sketched in India. The overall layout accepted the conventions of Georgian architecture, especially in its use of a central block with flanking wings ending in pavilions. The southern wing, however, curves to a dramatic termination in an exotic octagonal pavilion, while the main facade employs a number of Indian architectural devices. The structure is capped with a Mughal-style dome, the roof-line is marked out by *chattris* (small open pavilions) at the corners, while the overhanging eave has been transformed into an Indian *chajja*. The front entry is dominated by a two-storied "Great Gateway" complemented by elaborate window detailing meticulously reproduced from a variety of Indian styles. Throughout, Daniell's Indian views, such as that of the Faizabad Lal Bagh, provided at once the inspiration and the guarantee of authenticity for the design. Though the interior was purely European in its decoration, the garden, in part designed by Daniell, incorporated a snake pool, a "Hindu" style of bridge embellished with Brahmin bulls representing the god Nandi, and a temple

to Surya the sun god. The entrance roadway passes over the bridge, while a stream flows beneath it from a pool at the temple upon the hillside above. The whole, garden and house together in their lush setting, fully realized the English vision of picturesque India.

Subsequent Indian designs in Britain, lacking the controlling hand of Thomas Daniell, abandoned Sezincote's careful attention to detail in favor of a more extravagant notion of Oriental "exoticism." Of these by far the most influential, and the most flamboyant in its design, was John Nash's Royal Pavilion in Brighton (1815). Much has been written about this extraordinary building, constructed as a seaside retreat for the Prince Regent, later King George IV. The bulk of the structure had already been completed as a marine pavilion when the Prince Regent set out in the first decade of the new century to extend and enlarge his favorite residence. In 1803 a mammoth stable with an Indianized dome was constructed. For the main building, however, several designs were put forward, only to be rejected, among them one by Humphry Repton (1808), derived, like Sezincote, from the Daniells' Indian views. In the end the Prince Regent chose as his architect John Nash, already at work for him designing Regent's Park and the new Regent Street in London.³²

Neither Nash nor the Prince Regent had any commitment to Indian design other than as a way of representing the fantasy world of a pleasure dome. Indeed the interior had already been designed in a Chinese idiom. As Nash put it, "The Hindoo style of architecture was adopted in the expectation that the turban domes and pinnacles might from their glittering picturesque effect, attract and fix the attention of the Spectator." Yet no effort was made to use exclusively "Hindoo" forms. Rather, the building combined a variety of Indian forms, with Gothic and Chinese, transformed to suit the fancy of the architect and his patron. Some features, among them the minarets and *jaali* (lattice) screens, have at least a recognizably Indian origin, but the dominant elements of the building—the upswept tent roofs over the wings, the bulging domes punctuated at the waist by rows of windows—bear no resemblance to anything found in India. But it did not matter. The Pavilion was not meant to be a palace where a monarch, enthroned in state, might make manifest Britain's new imperial role in the East Indies. The "Oriental" forms of the building were intended rather to conjure up a vision of the "East" as an exotic and mysterious land. In such a vision authenticity was of necessity subordinated to effect.

The use of Indian architectural elements to enhance a sense of pleasure, if not of sensual delight, in buildings set apart for amusement was to have a long life, as these forms made their way into exhibition halls, seaside piers, and theaters over the subsequent century. Nevertheless, despite the excitement generated by the Royal Pavilion, Indian forms had little influence on building outside the immediate environs of Brighton; and, like the Pavilion itself, they soon fell wholly out of favor. As the new Queen Victoria frowned upon the frivolity of the Regency era, so too did she and her contemporaries inevitably come to disdain not only the Pavilion, which symbolized that era, but the architecture that embodied it. In 1850 the Pavilion was sold to the town of Brighton, and the proceeds were used for the reconstruction of Buckingham Palace.

Larger currents of taste were involved as well. The appeal of Indian architecture had from the outset been linked to a general movement away from classical order toward more varied and expressive styles suited to picturesque construction. Among these alternatives to classical styles were of course not only Indian but also Egyptian, Chinese, and Gothic architecture. For men like Hodges, indeed, the "Oriental" and the Gothic, both conceived of as derived from cave architecture, were interchangeable, and several late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century structures, such as George Dance's London Guildhall (1788), mixed together Gothic and Indian forms.³³ Yet the Gothic, as an architecture indigenous to England, had attractions that the exotic Indian could not match. By 1841, with the publication of Augustus Welby Pugin's *True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*, Gothic was accepted as the appropriate style not only for picturesque building but for ecclesiastical, and soon for civic construction as well.

Yet the changing patterns of taste and morals were not alone responsible for the demise of an Indian-styled architecture. By mid-century India had ceased to be an exotic land synonymous with romance, and the home as well of an illustrious civilization whose architecture was worthy of emulation. The imposition upon India of a regular government brought the country within the day-to-day order of a Raj staffed by trained civil servants. Latter-day travelers, men like Edward Lear and the photographer Samuel Bourne, to be sure, recorded views of its scenery and its peoples strikingly similar to those of their predecessors.³⁴ But their work did not evoke the sense of excitement of the days when Hodges, or the Daniells, had returned to England with portfolios of new and astonishing

scenes. No longer an architecture of wonder, sustaining a "picturesque" vision, India's buildings after 1860 provided only elements for the construction of an architecture of empire within India.

At the same time, with the completion of the conquest of India, the British attitude toward its peoples and their past began to shift. By the 1830s, self-confident and assertive, their views shaped by powerful currents of evangelicalism and utilitarianism, the British regarded all "Eastern" societies as hopelessly inferior to their own. The most authoritative statement was perhaps that of James Mill in his *History of British India*, published in 1818 and for decades afterward the most widely read volume on India's history. Mill maintained that India had remained always a civilization bound down at once to despotism and, in Hinduism, to "the most enormous and tormenting superstition that ever harassed and degraded any portion of mankind." This "hideous state of society" had to be entirely rooted out and replaced by a new system of laws and government that would properly secure the happiness of India's people. To bring about this reformation was Britain's mission in that benighted land. Not surprisingly, Mill did not, from this utilitarian perspective, look favorably upon any of India's architecture. It was all inevitably tainted by its association with the "degraded" society of which it was a part, and so remained at a "low state of perfection."³⁵ Under such circumstances it was hardly to be expected that this architecture could find an appreciative audience in England.

The first decades of the nineteenth century, then, saw European classical styles introduced into Indian building while Indian architecture made its way into England. Both announced the growth of new ties linking Europe with the East as Britain's Raj grew to encompass the Indian subcontinent. These architectural exchanges, linked as they were with the growth of empire, were of course in no sense equal. In each case they represented an assertion of Britain's mastery over India, and its ability accordingly to define the nature of architectural discourse. The implantation of classical styles in India and the restriction of Indian styles in Britain to such uses as that of the Prince Regent's pleasure palace alike devalued India's architectural heritage in contrast with that of Europe. Yet the mere assertion of superiority was not enough. A classical architecture, to be sure, might announce that India was now, as a new century unfolded, subject to new masters. But effective control required knowledge: of the subject peoples, of their past, and of their architecture. In-

deed, as they came to know more of India, the British realized that India possessed its own architectures of empire—in the Vijayanagar kingdom, in the Delhi sultanate, in the empire of the Mughals—and that these could be transformed to meet the needs of the new Raj. In the years after 1860 the British, sustained by what has been memorably called an "illusion of permanence," embarked on an architectural strategy that presented "India" as a "traditional" society and their Raj as an Indian empire. In so doing they sought to overcome the contradictions inherent in the use of classical forms. Yet this strategy in its turn, as we shall see, created contradictions of its own.

The Mastery of the Past:

The British and India's Historic Architecture

"When I was in India," the architectural historian James Fergusson told the Society of Arts in 1866, "between twenty and thirty years ago, the subject of Indian architecture had hardly been touched. Views of Indian buildings had, it is true, been published by Daniell and others, but no attempt had been made to classify them, and the vaguest possible ideas prevailed as to their age or relative antiquity."¹ By the time Fergusson published his *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* a decade later, the British knew, or thought they knew, what India's architecture consisted of. They had, they believed, brought India's past history almost fully to light and had discovered the categories to order that past. In so doing, its rulers found a way to control that past, and hence India's present, for their own purposes. For this achievement, the indefatigable Fergusson, whose *History* remained the standard text on the subject for fifty years, could himself claim considerable credit. But the decade of the 1860s saw as well, for the first time, with the foundation in India of the Archeological Survey and the publications at home of the India Museum, an extensive governmental commitment to the study of India's past. On these foundations, the British in the last decades of the nineteenth century set out to create an Indic-styled architecture of their own. This chapter examines, as a necessary preliminary to the study of that enterprise, how the British comprehended India's history, and its historic architecture.

During the East India Company era, before 1858, almost all research into India's past was the outcome of amateur scholars working either in-

dependently or with the support of such private bodies as the Asiatic Society of Bengal, founded in 1784 by William Jones. Fergusson himself, for instance, had come to India as a young man in 1835 to set up as an indigo planter near Calcutta. Once there, however, though wholly lacking in academic training, he devoted himself to a wide-ranging series of self-financed architectural tours and the "unremitting" study of monuments. Despite the lack of government encouragement, these years were exciting ones for the discovery of India's past. It is not surprising that a young man like Fergusson would get caught up in the effort, as he called it, of "unravelling the mystery" of that past. Following upon the path-breaking studies of the Sanskrit language and the Hindu religion undertaken by such men as Jones, Nathaniel Halhed, and Charles Wilkins, British scholars during the first decades of the nineteenth century deciphered the Brahmi script, and so revealed the existence of the Asokan era; uncovered the Gandharan sculpture of the northwest, which pointed to ties linking India and classical Greece; and translated the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hsien's account of his fifth-century tour, and thus gave historical depth to the Gupta Empire and the Buddhist experience in India. Indians too participated in this enterprise of discovery. In 1834 Ram Raz, a judge in the Company's service, translated the Hindu aesthetic text, the *Silpa Sastras*, into English as *The Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus*.²

Despite the excitement of translating the ancient texts, the scholars of the era of discovery had but little to say about India's ancient monuments. Sites readily accessible to European travelers, above all the Elephanta cave and the Mahabalipuram temple complex on the seashore near Madras, had been fully described, if not accurately dated, before the end of the eighteenth century. The Ajanta caves, discovered in 1819, and those in nearby Ellora, with the massive Kailash temple carved from living rock, attracted admiring study as soon as their existence was known. None of these sites, however, was at the time fitted into any larger conception of India's history. The early explorers, as children of the era of Romanticism, were overwhelmed by the "sublime grandeur" of the great cave shrines; but they could say no more than that these structures "convey the mind back to distant periods, and impress it with that kind of uncertain religious awe with which the grander works of ages of darkness are generally contemplated." Ajanta, for example, on its discovery was dated at between two and three thousand years old, when in fact the bulk

of the caves were carved out during the Christian era, and many date from A.D. 600. Few sites elsewhere were accurately measured or even fully explored.³

Tolerant and cosmopolitan products of the Enlightenment, the early Oriental scholars, from William Jones onward into the nineteenth century, conceived the notion that India possessed a great civilization, and that in antiquity it had had a "golden age." Since then, however, its society, they maintained, had stagnated, or even declined, as its pristine purity became contaminated by medieval Hinduism. Such a conception of course predisposed European scholars to find merit in early Indian art, architecture, and culture, and to disparage later work. By the early nineteenth century the rise of liberal and evangelical enthusiasm in Britain had begun to call into question the belief even in India's ancient greatness. James Mill, as we have seen, maintained that India had always been bound down to despotism and superstition. Mill, and with him the early-Victorian reformers like Thomas Macaulay, have been called "Anglicists," for they saw nothing of value in India's civilization and called for the country to be wholly reformed on an English model. This transformation, they conceived, through the agency of good laws and a Western-style education, with the saving religion of Christianity, could easily be brought about.

Although it is impossible wholly to reconcile the "Orientalist" and the "Anglicist" views of India's past, for they are the product of distinct philosophical perspectives, they still had much in common. Indeed, together they may be said to have shaped the Victorian "discourse on architecture" in India. Above all, British scholars, of whichever point of view, agreed that at no time could Indian architecture stand comparison with that of Europe. As Fergusson wrote on the very first page of his *History*, "It cannot of course be for one moment contended that India ever reached the intellectual supremacy of Greece, or the moral greatness of Rome." Indian buildings, he argued, "display an exuberance of fancy, a lavishness of labour, and an elaboration of detail to be found nowhere else." They are, consequently, "important" in the history of architectural art. Yet they "contain nothing so sublime as the hall at Karnac, nothing so intellectual as the Parthenon, nor so constructively grand as a medieval cathedral."⁴ Inevitably, therefore, European appreciation of India's past—its culture and its architecture alike—was always qualified and linked directly to the notion of a subsequent decline. Indeed, one might

argue, the theory of decline in India complemented, and was a product of, the concept of progress which, from the Enlightenment onward, dominated Europe's perception of its own past. Such a theory made it easier too, of course, for the British to justify to themselves their rule over India.

The British from the very outset imposed upon India as well categories of analysis derived from religious affiliation. The earliest travelers had sharply contrasted the "Muhammadans" from those whom they called first "Gentoos" and then "Hindus." These labels, for the British, were not mere matters of religious belief, but defined entire societies: the distinguishing characteristic of an Indian was his membership in one or the other of these two religious communities. Inevitably, as a result, architectural styles were conceived of as being derived from, and expressing the values of, a religiously defined grouping. As we shall see, no matter how carefully Victorian scholars studied India's architecture, no one among them ever questioned the appropriateness of such categories in describing the architectural heritage of the subcontinent. Even as late as 1905 the distinguished architect R. F. Chisholm could say that "the division of the whole of India into two great classes—Hindoo and Saracenic—was undoubtedly happy and true."⁵

When he returned to England in 1842, after eight years in India, Fergusson set himself the task of bringing India's architectural history "within the domain of science" on the basis of the discoveries of the preceding decades. An "intelligible" account of the long centuries of Indian building was, so he conceived it, now within reach. At this critical juncture Fergusson's task was made vastly easier by the development of photography. From its tentative beginnings in the daguerreotypes of the 1840s, by mid-century photography had become a sophisticated tool for the recording of exact images. Fergusson himself recognized its crucial importance for architectural history. "Every day," he remarked in his 1866 talk, "new series of photographs are coming home from India. Almost all the best known buildings have been taken . . . and anyone, at a small expense, may now make himself master of any branch of the subject."⁶ No longer was it necessary to rely on such drawings as travelers like the Daniells might bring home. It was now possible to know, and so to "master," India's architecture.

Initially the work of amateurs, the photographing of India's monuments was taken up by the government on a systematic basis during the 1860s. The first comprehensive "album" was an 1859 survey of the

monuments of Bijapur. The Government of Bombay in subsequent years sponsored photographic surveys of Ajanta, Ahmadabad, and Mysore/Dharwar, together with a more detailed account of Bijapur, published in 1866. In the south the Madras government in 1867 commissioned one Captain Lyon to photograph "the most remarkable ancient architectural remains and works" of the presidency; he returned with 276 photographs of Hindu temples.⁷ The following year Lieutenant H. H. Cole photographed ancient buildings in Kashmir and then returned to survey buildings in the neighborhood of Mathura and Agra.

These photographic tours were not always as systematic as a scholar like Fergusson would have preferred. Cole, for instance, set out for Kashmir so late in the season that he had to pass over "many Temples of great interest" in order to get out of the valley, less than a month after he had arrived, before the snow blocked up the passes leading to the plains. Furthermore, grumbled Fergusson, Cole, a member of the Royal Engineers, had "no previous knowledge of Indian antiquities in general, and he had not qualified himself by any special study for the investigation he was deputed to undertake."⁸ Nor was he an expert photographer. For his 1869 tour the North-Western Provinces government appointed one Reverend Mr. Simpson, the chaplain of Mathura, to consult with Cole on "the points of view which were most desirable to obtain in the buildings" and then to take the photographs themselves. Still, as Fergusson wrote of Cole's Kashmir portfolio, these "plans and architectural details are a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the subject, and with his photographs and those now available by others, enable those who have not had an opportunity of visiting the valley to form an opinion of their own."⁹

Buddhist and Hindu Architecture

Together the theory of decline and the use of religious (or more properly, communal) categories defined the British perception of India's historic architecture throughout the nineteenth century. But the discoveries at once of the Ajanta caves and of Gandharan art, with the simultaneous recognition of the existence of an extended period of Buddhist predominance in India, provided a new and attractive way of marking out India's era of ancient greatness. Untainted by the association of Hinduism with "superstition" and the "corruption" of the Brahmin, which contributed to the Victorian disparagement of Sanskritic Orientalism, Buddhism had at its

heart a "great Teacher," who converted by persuasion to a "rationalistic" faith. Its art could be seen therefore as unquestionably representing a "classical" age in India.¹⁰ For Fergusson, indeed, the high-water mark of Indian building was to be found in the Buddhist monuments at Sanchi, Bharhut, and Amaravati, constructed during the last two centuries B.C. and the first A.D. The finest of these, not surprisingly, was the earliest—that at Bharhut. This aesthetic judgment was of course wholly derived from European, and Victorian, conceptions of beauty. At Bharhut, he wrote, "Some animals, such as elephants, deer, and monkeys, are better represented there than in any sculptures known in any part of the world; . . . [and] architectural details are cut with an elegance and precision which are very admirable. The human figures, too, though very different from our standards of beauty and grace, are truthful to nature, and, when grouped together, combine to express the action intended with singular felicity. For an honest purpose-like pre-Raphaelite kind of art, there is probably nothing much better to be found elsewhere."¹¹

The "backward decline" began, however, almost at once. It was a matter not only of "precision" in sculpting but of "delicacy" of morals as well. Contrasting Bharhut with the slightly later Sanchi, he wrote, "Making love and drinking are not represented here as at Sanchi—nor are females represented nude as they are at Muttra. All are decently clothed, from the waist downwards at least, and altogether the manners and customs at Bharhut are as much purer as the art is better than it is in the more modern example at Sanchi."¹² Fortunately, at that point the decline was "arrested" temporarily by the rise in the northwest of the classically influenced Gandharan art. A product of the Indo-Greek colonies of Bactria, this school of art, combining classical with Buddhist forms, infused Indian art, in Fergusson's view, with new vitality. As the art of European classical antiquity was the measure of perfection for all art everywhere, art produced under its influence had inevitably to be superior to other Indian art. Hence, even though the Amaravati sculptures were later than those of Bharhut or Sanchi, thus on Fergusson's own reckoning inferior, as that school joined Western "characteristics" with those of India, "the degree of perfection reached by the art of sculpture at Amaravati may probably be considered as the culminating point attained by that art in India."¹³

Fergusson was not alone in judging favorably Gandharan and other Greek-influenced Buddhist art in India. Henry Cole, for instance, in his guide to the South Kensington Museum, argued that the "exceptional ex-

cellence" of the Sanchi bas-reliefs suggested that "Greek masons, or possibly designers, were called in to assist the great work." Alexander Cunningham, the first director of the Archeological Survey of India, who throughout his career devoted the bulk of his attention to the excavation of Buddhist sites and the decipherment of Bactrian Greek coins, was convinced of the central role of Greek art in providing inspiration for the finest Indian work. Even in remote Kashmir the "superiority" of its architecture could be ascribed, he maintained, to the "undoubted traces of the influence of Grecian art" these structures exhibited. Though as a humane and rational faith Buddhism was intrinsically superior to Hinduism, the preeminence of its art owed much to the fact that it was, Cole wrote, "influenced by foreign styles at its birth" and had "affinities with that of other nations during its progress." Hindu art by contrast was "perfectly indigenous"; its styles reproduced "the thoughts and aspirations of the country, as revealed in its religious beliefs and history."¹⁴

The waning of Greek influence following the fall of Bactria, together with the subsequent decline of Buddhism under the impact of a revived Hinduism, set in motion once again the interrupted process of artistic decline. Fergusson divided all subsequent Hindu architecture into three major stylistic divisions: a northern, or Indo-Aryan; a southern, or Dravidian; and an intermediary, or Chalukyan, style in the Deccan. These styles did not for him simply reflect aesthetic or art historical judgments, but rather had come into existence "naturally" as the product of India's racial history.¹⁵ As North India's Sanskrit-speaking invaders, the Aryans dominated its first centuries of historic existence; but, few in number, they were eventually nearly overwhelmed by the indigenous peoples, the aboriginal *dasyus* and low-caste Turanians. The rise of Buddhism represented the "uprising of the numerous Turanian populations (whose instincts were against hereditary priesthood and caste) against the caste-loving Aryans," who, though intellectually superior, had no architecture of their own. Ultimately the Aryans, by now thoroughly "mixed" with the local peoples, reasserted their dominance, but only by adopting as their own the "absurd fables and monstrous superstitions" of the Turanians. The result was the absorption into these "abominations" of the "pure" Vedic faith, which still could be detected underlying it, and the subsequent emergence from within of the two predominant Hindu sects of Shaivism and Vaishnavism. These, Fergusson wrote bitterly, "brought God to earth, to mix and interfere in mundane affairs in a manner that

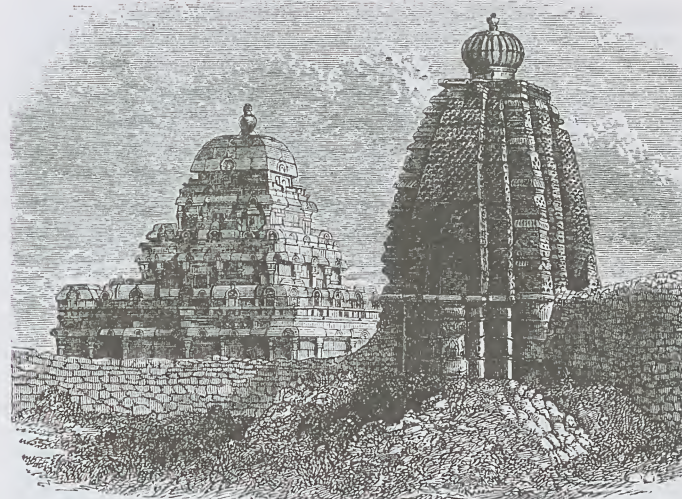
neither the Aryan nor the Buddhist ever dreamt of, and so degraded the purer religion of India into the monstrous system of idolatry that now prevails in this country."¹⁶

In the south, where the Aryans had not penetrated, the Dravidians, an indigenous Turanian people, preserved "their nationality pure and unmixed." As Turanians, they were of "a lower intellectual status" than the Aryans, but "like all nations of Turanian race," they were "extensive and enthusiastic builders," and so created an architecture of their own. The results were not, however, very impressive. With only a "mediocre" intellectual status, no literature or history to inspire them, and a religion of an "impure and degrading fetishism," the Dravidians were unable to create anything "very grand or imposing." All they could do was to offer the gods an unstinting labor in ornamentation. What the Hindu architect craved, Fergusson argued, "was a place to display his powers of ornamentation, and he thought he had accomplished all his art demanded when he covered every part of his building with the most elaborate and most difficult designs he could invent. Much of this ornamentation, it is true, is very elegant, and evidences of power and labour do impress the human imagination, often even in defiance of our better judgment. . . . It is in vain, however, that we look among them [the Dravidian temples] for any manifestation of those lofty aims and noble results which constitute the merit and greatness of true architectural art."¹⁷

Fergusson's racial theories were not free of inconsistencies. If Buddhism appealed primarily to the culturally inferior Turanians, how, one might ask, could Buddhist architecture be regarded as the apex of India's artistic achievement? Similarly, if the racial mixing of the Aryans with the Turanians was responsible for the subsequent decline of northern India's art and culture, why was architecture in the south, where no racial mixing took place, no better than that in the north? In the end, it would seem, Fergusson's racial categories explain very little. Buddhism, Jainism, and latter-day Hinduism were all, in his view, essentially Turanian, or indigenous faiths, and could, indeed, best be viewed as "three stages of one superstition of a native race—Buddhism being the oldest and purest; Jainism a faith of similar origin, but overlaid with local superstitions; and Vishnuism a third form, suited to the capacity of the natives of India in modern times, and to compete with the fashionable worship of Siva." Similarly, India's architecture was for Fergusson the product, not of Aryan intellect, which was literary, but of the indigenous peoples. Even in

the north, with its "mixed" population, the architectural style showed no trace of "external Aryan affinities." Indeed, he insisted, "no style is so purely local, and, if the term may be used, so aboriginal, as this."¹⁸ What mattered ultimately, then, was religious affiliation: as all Indians, at least by early medieval times, were (by definition) Hindus, so was all architecture in the end Hindu architecture. Everything else was superficial. Fergusson's elaboration of racial categories, such as that of a "Turanian" people, reflects only his, and Victorian England's, fascination with race as a causative force in human history.

For Fergusson the northern and southern styles of Hindu architecture were marked off by basic differences in construction. Dravidian architecture, he argued, was distinguished by its use of a square plan built up in the horizontal or bracket mode, in which layer was placed upon layer to form a steplike pyramid. The temple in turn formed the heart of a large complex of structures, including porches covering the entrances leading to the inner cell, pillared halls, and large gateways (*gopuram*) towering above the boundary wall of the entire enclosure. The northern style by contrast not only did away with the *gopuram* and pillared halls, but had as its central feature a soaring *shikra* tower rising above the inner sanctuary of the temple (fig. 5). In this style, Fergusson wrote, "the outline of the pyramid is curvilinear; no trace of division of storeys is observable, no reminiscence of habitations, and no pillars or pilasters anywhere." These differences, he argued, clearly indicated the close connection between architecture and ethnography. That two people, he wrote, "inhabiting practically the same country, and worshipping the same gods under the guidance of the same Brahmanical priesthood, should have adopted and adhered to two such dissimilar styles for their sacred buildings, shows as clearly as anything can well do how much race has to do with these matters, and how little we can understand the causes of such contrasts, unless we take affinities or differences of race into consideration." Fergusson's racial theories, however, as he himself was fully aware, were helpless to explain why the northern and southern styles developed as they did. Indeed, he was baffled by the origins of the curvilinear *shikra*, which he weakly claimed to have been invented "principally at least for aesthetic purposes." He remained, nevertheless, unshaken in his conviction that "the architecture of the country may be considered as a great stone book, in which each tribe and race has written its annals, and that in a manner so clear that those who run may read."¹⁹



5. "Dravidian and Indo-Aryan Temples at Pattadakal." In James Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 89. Note

Fergusson's attempt to distinguish the northern and southern styles of architecture in two temples constructed side by side.

His overall theory of decline led Fergusson logically and inevitably to disparage medieval Hindu architecture. As the buildings of this era were chronologically late in time, and the product of an "idolatrous and corrupt" society, they could be nothing other than debased. Even within this already decadent culture, furthermore, a continuing process of internal decay took place, so that the later buildings were more debased than the earlier. Of the early-sixteenth-century Vijayanagar *gopuram*, for instance, he wrote that, compared with Halebid and Belur, they were "inferior, but not so much as one would expect from the two centuries of decadence that elapsed between them, and they certainly show a marked superiority over the great unfinished gopura of Tirumulla Naik, which was commenced . . . one century afterwards."²⁰

Fergusson reserved his most severe criticism for the architecture of South India's temples. He intensely disliked the ornate surface decoration

and polychromatic painting of the temple facades, which made them, especially in such later structures as those at Madurai, "the most barbarous, it may be said the most vulgar" works of art to be found in India. South Indian temples affronted too his sense of proportion.²¹ The "great defect" of all these temples, with the one exception of Tanjore, was their lack of a "tall central object to give dignity to the whole from the outside." Instead, ignorant of the true principles of architecture, the temple builders constructed around the compound high walls with lofty gateways overshadowing a low tower over the main shrine. These gateways, "irregularly spaced in a great blank wall, lose half their dignity from their positions; and the bathos of their decreasing in size and elaboration, as they approach the sanctuary, is a mistake which nothing can redeem. . . . as an architectural design it is altogether detestable." Tanjore, free from this "false" system of design, Fergusson attributed to the early fourteenth century; but he had, he wrote, at one time "hoped it was earlier."²² Its superiority of design, in his view, obviously entitled this temple to a place in the earliest period of Dravidian architecture! (Ironically, the Tanjore temple was subsequently discovered to be some three centuries older than Fergusson had dated it.)

For Fergusson, then, there existed certain absolute rules of architecture applicable to all buildings everywhere. That so few of South India's monuments could meet these canons of taste, derived of course from European standards, was only further evidence of the decadence of its society. Nor was Fergusson alone in insisting upon the universal validity of such standards. Lord Napier, governor of Madras and amateur student of architecture, found what he called "Brahminical" architecture "manifestly defective." The attraction of this style was its "picturesque" quality. The multitude of cloisters, galleries, and pools, he wrote, "the profusion of ponderous material and delicate sculpture, and the dimness of the inner shrine, all combine to affect the imagination with those impressions which belong to vastness, mystery, and the lapse of incalculable time, to the patient, devoted application of human labour, and the ceaseless tribute of human worship." Yet neither this sense of "Oriental" mystery nor a certain measure of "elegance" could hide the "inherent poverty" of design and construction in South India's temples. Among the "characteristics" of the style, as he described them, were such features as "a multitude of supports crowded together . . . , horizontal superposition, a vast expenditure of solid material and radical defects of form disguised by

minute ornamentation."²³ Precisely those features marked out for Fergusson the "degraded" state of South India's architecture.

Fergusson's attempt to base architecture on ethnography did not win universal acceptance. The *Builder*, for instance, in reviewing his *History*, acknowledged that Fergusson was "a sort of Linnaeus to Indian architecture," engaged in classifying it for purposes of study. But, they argued, "his nomenclature (unlike that of Linnaeus) is composed on constantly varying principles, and it seems scarcely possible that it can be accepted without a great deal of revision and alteration." Two divisions of the subject, they pointed out, "are headed respectively 'Buddhist' and 'Jaina' architecture, which are divisions based upon creed; the next chapter, 'Architecture in the Himalayas,' implies a topographical division, while the next two 'Dravidian' and 'Chalukyan,' are, if we rightly understand the rather vague explanations, divisions founded on distinctions of race or language." "Indo-Aryan," too, they said, "seems rather like an attempt to bring under one descriptive title, for purposes of classification, an immense number of widely-spread buildings, which scarcely admit of so distinct a demarcation." And they thought Fergusson rather too liable to outbursts of enthusiasm for particular Indian styles. Still, with him they insisted that Hindu architecture was marked by a "deficiency in the logic of construction" and lacked a proper "reticence and judgment in the use of ornament, which is an essential characteristic of the highest architectural and ornamental art."²⁴ Hence the Indian styles could never be placed on a level with the Greek or Gothic. No matter from what heights it had fallen, nor how closely tied to ethnographic differences, India's Hindu architecture remained always the work of a people bound to an "impure and degraded" superstition that blinded them to the correct principles of building.

Indian "Saracenic" Architecture

The architecture of India's Islamic rulers, who dominated northern India in the centuries after A.D. 1200, was, on the whole, for the British, reassuringly familiar and aesthetically satisfying. "From Granada to Constantinople," said Lord Napier, "from Constantinople to Samarcand, and from Samarcand to Bejapore, the earth is adorned with the masterpieces of Mussulman piety and taste, and too often strewed with their

remains." In India as elsewhere the central features of this style, derived from ancient Rome and transformed by early Christian builders, were, as they saw it, the arch and the dome. "These," Napier continued, "the Mussulmans adopted and diversified, and having added the minaret, they [created] . . . a group of architectural forms, in which dignity, elegance, and the picturesque are united with perfect constructive science." Unlike "horizontal" styles, "loaded" with ornamentation, the Islamic possessed "an independent and satisfying grace."²⁵ The *Builder* made the same point more forthrightly in its review of Fergusson's *History*. The "refinement of detail" and "constructive and aesthetic truthfulness" of the "Saracenic" style, they argued, placed it far above the "more barbaric profusion and confusion" of the "pure" (that is, Hindu) Indian architecture.²⁶ Throughout, the categories were clear: no one questioned that architectural styles were linked to, and ultimately expressive of, religious communities, for communal categories, as we have seen, underlay all British analysis of India's culture and society.

Europeans were not unvaryingly sympathetic to Islam. Indeed, the term used in the nineteenth century to describe its architecture, "Saracenic," recalled the enduring confrontation of Islam and the West. The label "Saracen," first applied in antiquity to the nomadic peoples of the Syrian desert, from early medieval times onward denoted not just Arabs but all Muslims and carried with it the connotation of a fierce and bloody warrior who spread his faith by the sword and held at bay the Christian Crusaders. For Europeans, Muslims were always, unlike Hindus, a people to be feared; and much Orientalist scholarship was directed to reducing this "menacing Orient" to manageable proportions.²⁷

Still, the Muslims were a worthy adversary. As Napier insisted, "The progress of Mahomedanism was not entirely destructive." In his view, "the refined genius of the Arabs," fired by a belief in the spirituality and unity of God, produced an order of religious architecture "which has never been surpassed in the history of the world." Similarly, throughout the Muslim world, in the "invigorating atmosphere of revolutions and conflicts," its rulers discovered "generous abilities and tastes," which made Islamic courts centers not only of warfare but of artistic patronage.²⁸ Above all, the rigorous monotheism of Islam made of that faith "no vain superstition, but a true religion." Indeed, for late-Victorian Englishmen, torn by doubt, Islam offered a reassurance they could no longer find in themselves. As Sir Alfred Lyall wrote, "The Mahomedan faith has still at

least a dignity and a courageous unreasoning certitude, which in Western Christianity have been perceptibly melted down . . . by long exposure to the searching light of European rationalism." The "clear, unwavering formula of Islam," he continued, in a metaphor which aptly joined together its architecture and its dogma, "carries one plain line straight up toward heaven like a tall obelisk pointing direct to the sky."²⁹

The British saw the Muslim conquest of northern India as opening up a channel by which "Saracenic" architecture could flow into, and reinvigorate, the art of the subcontinent. From the perspective of India, as Fergusson saw it, the Islamic could in some degree be regarded as the "architecture of the West," which was connected to that of the "East" by such "stepping-stones" as the eleventh-century court of Ghazni in Afghanistan.³⁰ Like the Buddhist Gandharan architecture a millennium before, the "Saracenic" was, in contrast with the work of the indigenous Hindus, the more "perfect" architecture of a more vital civilization—a civilization, furthermore, whose vitality derived in large part from its "links" with the West.³¹ The triumph of a new conquering elite thus went hand in hand with the imposition on India of an aesthetically superior art and architecture.

Islamic culture was still not equal, however, to that of the Christian West. Like Hinduism, its greatness was to be found above all in the ancient past; as time went by, a process of decline invariably set in. Even the early Arab caliphate, wrote Fergusson, for all its "glory," fell victim in the end to the "effeminacy and corruption inherent in Eastern dynasties." The same tale repeated itself within the Islamic states of India, as each dynasty in turn, despite its "brilliant beginning," gradually sank into "inevitable decay." Not surprisingly, then, for Fergusson the best "Indian Saracenic" architecture was the earliest. At the same time the work of each dynasty took on a distinctive character as its "Saracenic architects," showing the same "pliancy" as they had elsewhere, adopted "the styles of the various peoples among whom they had settled." As a result, Fergusson divided "Indian Saracenic" building into thirteen styles, each associated with a different Islamic dynasty. Of these styles the two most important, and long-lived, he classified as the Pathan, associated with the sultans of Delhi from 1193 to 1556, and that of the Mughals, who ruled from 1556 to 1707. Of the remainder, seven were the creation of the regional kingdoms that flourished during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; and two others were those of Sind and Ghazni, on the western

borders of India. These eleven together comprised the "true" styles of "Mahomedan" architecture. In addition there were two post-Mughal "bastard" styles, those of Oudh and Mysore.³² We will ask why the British responded to these styles as they did, and how their understanding of them helped shape Britain's own building in the "Saracenic" mode.

The British found exceptionally attractive the so-called Pathan architecture of the Delhi sultanate, which comprised several successive dynasties, first Turkish then Afghan in origin. The Ghorids, wrote Fergusson, with the conquest of Delhi in 1193, brought to India "the vigour of a new race." Indeed, so impressive were they that Fergusson was prepared to exempt them, for a time at least, from the rule of universal decay. "These monarchs," he said, "exhibited a continued vigour and energy very unusual in the East," and so maintained their power undiminished until the latter half of the fourteenth century. Not surprisingly, over such a long period, their architectural styles varied considerably. Fergusson distinguished three "Pathan" styles. The first, centered about the Qutb Minar, with its associated mosque and tombs, and the "Two-and-a-half day" mosque at Ajmer, comprised the best and the most important Pathan structures. The distinctive feature of these thirteenth-century buildings, as Fergusson saw it, was the incorporation and adaptation of "Hindu art" to "Mahomedan purposes." In the Qutb and Ajmer mosques the Muslim builders not only employed Hindu artisans but utilized the remains of demolished Hindu temples as building materials. In each case the centerpiece of the design was a screen of arches, adorned with "all the richness and elaboration of carving" which the Indian artisans were capable of executing. Nothing, Fergusson argued, "could be more successful than the results." The "largeness and grandeur" of the Mahomedan arches, combined with the "Hindu delicacy of ornamentation," made these buildings "unrivalled" throughout the Islamic world for "beauty of surface decoration."³³

The appeal of this architecture to the British clearly owes as much to its political symbolism as to its aesthetic beauty. As an architecture that was seen to unite "Hindu" and "Muslim" forms visibly, the early Pathan, wrote Fergusson, had an "ethnographic importance" in marking out the "leading characteristics of the two races." The "constructive truthfulness" of the Muslim style was appropriate to a "nation of soldiers equipped for conquest," while the "exquisite style of decoration" of the Hindu marked out a society with "an infinite number of artists" who could fit their craft

to the requirements of "their foreign masters."³⁴ This combination of Muslim and Hindu forms, in which the "two races" remained separate, but with the Hindu firmly subordinated, represented the British architectural ideal, as they themselves set out, with "the vigour of a new race," as we shall see later, to incorporate India's past into their own building.

The Tughlaq sultans of the fourteenth century, in Fergusson's view, abandoned "elaborate ornamentation" for a "stern simplicity of design." This "severe" style, manifested most dramatically in Muhammad bin Tughlaq's tomb, marked out the beginning of an architecture "entirely free from Hindu influence." Muhammad's tomb, he said, with its "sloping walls" and "bold and massive towers," would not have been out of place "if found in the valley of the Nile." As a wholly Islamic style imbued with "grandeur," it appealed to the British as "much more appropriate" to Muslim rulers, who ought to build in an Islamic idiom. Still, however, the inevitable decline had set in, for the buildings of this era were "more marked by solemn gloom and nakedness than by ornamentation or any of the higher graces of architectural art." The fifteenth century saw a return to a more elaborate ornamented style, which culminated in the buildings of Sher Shah in the early sixteenth century. Yet, though the product of a reign of "exceptional splendour," Sher Shah's building marked "the last expiring gasp of the Pathans."³⁵

As the Delhi sultanate began to break up in the later fourteenth century, regional kingdoms established themselves throughout India. These states, as they waged war with Delhi and each other, had of necessity to rely upon their own resources. Hence their Muslim elites inevitably drew closer to their Hindu subjects, whose support they required for survival. In the process distinctive forms of regional architecture grew up. Each reflected and helped shape a unique culture centered about the provincial court. The richness and variety of this architecture attracted the attention of the British from the early nineteenth century onward. Two of these late-medieval kingdoms, indeed, those of Gujarat and Bijapur, were the very first Indian states whose architectural remains were photographed and made the subject of detailed monographic studies. The *Architectural Illustrations of the Principal Mahometan Buildings of Beejapore* appeared in 1859; a further volume on Bijapur, together with companion volumes on Ahmedabad, the capital of Gujarat, and the southern state of Mysore, was published in the mid-1860s. The publication of these latter volumes was the work of a committee, appointed by the governor of

Bombay, Sir Bartle Frere, on the "Architectural Antiquities of Western India," with the production costs underwritten by "two native gentlemen," Bombay merchants of Gujerati origin. The enterprise was directed to political as well as scholarly objectives. As Captain Meadows Taylor wrote, in introducing the Bijapur volume, "These noble monuments may serve to lead our countrymen to appreciate the intellect, the taste, and the high power of art and execution which they evince; to consider their authors not as barbarians, but in the position to which their works justly entitle them; and to follow, in the history of those who so conceived them, that Divine scheme of civilization and improvement which, so strangely and impressively, has been confided to the English nation."³⁶ This architecture, in a word, testified to the greatness at once of India's past and of England's present.

Each provincial style exerted its own appeal for the Victorian Englishman. In some cases the attraction was that of the unusual or remote. The architecture of Bengal, for instance, as a result of the province's deltaic location, was wholly of brick. This distinctive feature, in Fergusson's eyes, made it "curious and interesting" even though "deficient" in many of the "higher qualities of art." Bengal's builders too developed a "curvilinear" form of roof that was later widely adopted throughout northern India. Though Fergusson deplored the "questionable" taste of this style, he tried hard to maintain a stance of objectivity. "There is," he wrote, "so much that is conventional in architecture," and familiarity may so easily "render that beautiful which is not so abstractedly," that "strangers are hardly fair judges in a case of this sort."³⁷ In Mandu, the fifteenth-century capital of Malwa, the isolated site and "massive" Pathan-styled structures by contrast gave the architecture a "great magnificence." Its "simple grandeur and expression of power" showed "how wonderfully" the city's builders had "grasped the true elements of architectural design." Mandu's isolation too reinforced, in the manner of Shelley's "Ozymandias," the political lesson the British wished to draw from the architecture of their predecessors. "In their solitude," wrote Fergusson, "in a vast uninhabited jungle, they [the buildings of Mandu] convey as vivid an impression of the ephemeral splendour of these Mahomedan dynasties as anything in India."³⁸

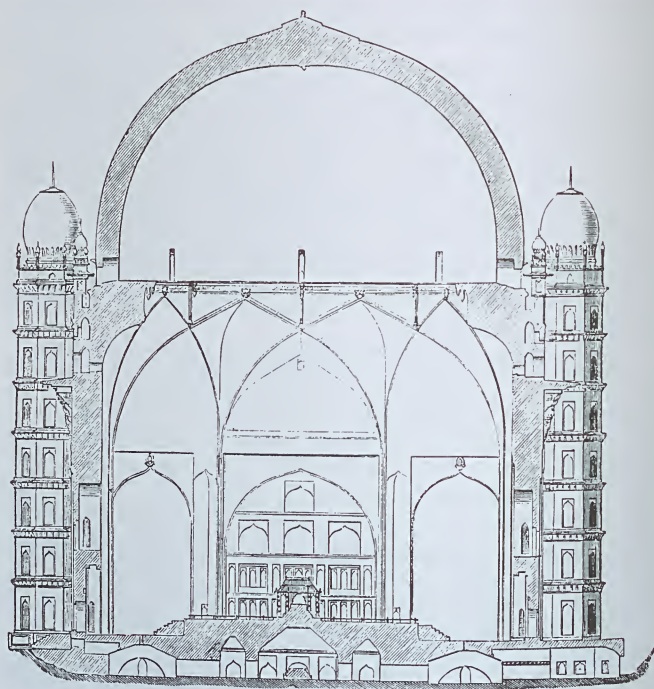
Among these regional styles those of Ahmedabad and Bijapur, in British estimation, loomed above all the others. The architectural ornamentation in Ahmedabad, Fergusson wrote, "will stand comparison with

any employed in any age or in any part of the world"; Bijapur's buildings too were "marked by a grandeur of conception and boldness in construction unequalled by any edifices erected in India."³⁹ It is not by accident that these sites were the first to be fully documented in photographs. For the British of the mid-nineteenth century, each clearly carried a special meaning. In the case of Ahmedabad this was to be found in the growth of what was regarded as "the most Hindu of Indian Muhammadan styles."⁴⁰ Fergusson echoed widespread opinion when he wrote that in Gujerat "the Mahomedans had forced themselves upon the most civilized and most essentially building race" in India, with the result that the Gujeratis "conquered their conquerors" and induced them to adopt their own forms and ornaments. The resulting architectural style joined "all the elegance and finish of Jaina or Chalukyan art, with a certain largeness of conception which the Hindu people never quite attained." The chief characteristic of the style, as Fergusson wrote of one Ahmedabad mosque, was its construction "without a single arch; all the pillars have the usual bracket capitals of the Hindus, and all the domes are on the horizontal principle." The designs were further distinguished by an elaboration of delicate tracery ornamentation, superior even to that done in precious marble in Delhi and Agra. The "most exquisite gem" in Ahmedabad, the Rani Sipri mosque, was "such as only a Hindu queen could order, and only Hindu artists could carve."⁴¹

The appropriateness of such concepts as "fusion" or "assimilation" to describe the interaction between Hindu and Muslim in late-medieval India, not only in architecture but more generally in culture and social relations, has remained to the present a subject of intense debate among historians. It is not possible to enter into these larger questions here. Among the Victorian British, however, for whom these communal categories were never in doubt, the growth of an architecture that, as they saw it, "mingled" Muslim and Hindu forms, of which Ahmedabad was the most visible example, provided an attractive precedent for their own building in a similar mode. The *Builder*, indeed, though reluctant to "compare small things with great," found a "parallel" even in the architectural history of classical antiquity. Ahmedabad, they wrote, reminded them of "what has been said about the influence of the architecture of the Greeks upon their conquerors the Romans." The British were not prepared, of course, to accept the tutelage of the Hindus, but they still envisaged themselves, like the Romans, and their "Moham-

medan" predecessors in India, as seizing upon "the architecture indigenous to the countries conquered, [and] adapting it to suit their own ideas and needs."⁴²

Though Bijapur gained renown for its "originality" of design, its greatest appeal arose from the monumental scale and "constructive boldness" of its Islamic architecture. Above all, the British were drawn in admiration to the domed tomb of Sultan Muhammad, Bijapur's ruler from 1626 to 1656 (fig. 6). Known as the "Gol Gumbaz," this structure, with an internal area of some 18,225 square feet, contained the largest domed



6. "Section of the Tomb of Muhammad at Bijapur." In James Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 275.

space in the world. This vast size, in Fergusson's view, converted what was otherwise only an "elegant architectural design" into "a wonder of constructive skill." The dome, in particular, fascinated British architects and scholars. Part of the attraction was scientific, as they sought to comprehend its "ingenious and novel" mode of construction, in which the lateral thrust was offset by weight hanging on the pendentives inside. But their interest was practical as well. "In the East," wrote Fergusson, they "play with their domes, and make them of all sorts of fantastic forms" without ever sacrificing their stability. In Europe, by contrast, architects "have been timid and unskilled in dome-building." But now, he continued, "with our present engineering knowledge it would be easy to construct far larger and more daring domes than even this of Mahmud's tomb, without the smallest fear of accident."⁴³ Rarely, lamented the architect William Emerson, did "the chance of introducing domes" come to a builder in England. In India, where the British built on an imperial scale, matters were different. Within a single decade Emerson himself erected two domes, one based on the pendentive construction of Bijapur,



7. "Audience Hall Bijapur." In James Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 278.

while R. F. Chisholm in the same years constructed at Baroda College a massive dome with an external diameter of seventy feet.⁴⁴

This enthusiasm for the dome, which Fergusson described as "artistically the most beautiful form of roof yet invented," derived of course from the long tradition of dome building in Western Europe. From the Pantheon at Rome, and the early Eastern Christian churches, through the great cathedrals of the Renaissance the dome had come to symbolize the majesty of God and of the imperial ruler. The dome was furthermore seen as appropriate to the Eastern temperament. "There is," as Emerson wrote, "a mystery about the gloom of the interior of a vast dome that well suits the imagination of the Oriental."⁴⁵ Fergusson conceived as well that the "largeness and grandeur" of the Bijapur style owed much to the "quasi-Western" origin of the dynasty's sixteenth-century founder, Yusuf Khan, a "full-blooded Turk," who somehow brought with him to Bijapur "reminiscences of the great works of the Roman and Byzantine architects." Not just the dome of the "Gol Gumbaz," but the city's entire architecture was thus linked to that of the West, and so represented the best elements in the Islamic style (fig. 7).⁴⁶

Of the "peerless" quality of Mughal architecture there was, for the British, never any doubt. Ever since the earliest travelers had visited the courts of the great emperors—Akbar and Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb—the palaces, mosques, and tombs these men erected, with their marble facades and inlaid precious stones, had won the admiration of all who saw them. Almost universally, Mughal building was regarded as the culminating point of the "Mohammedan style" in India. Sir Richard Temple, indeed, even spoke of the "Great Mogul" as "the greatest architectural genius that ever lived . . . not excepting the ancient Greeks, and not excepting any modern nation whatsoever."⁴⁷ The Taj Mahal, above all, excited the awe of the European visitor. As William Emerson told the Royal Institute of British Architects, "Of all places I have been to, either in the West or East, I unhesitatingly affirm that Agra and the Taj-Mahal stand pre-eminent in the impression made on my mind." The Taj was, wrote the *Builder*, the "central jewel" of a "brilliant and splendid" architecture.⁴⁸

Yet the British remained uncertain about how best to assess the excellence of this architecture. Fergusson, for instance, comparing the Taj with the Parthenon, pointed out that both were of "nearly equal" size and magnificence, constructed of white marble, and admirably adapted to the purposes for which they were built. Yet he could not bring himself to

place the two on the same level. The Parthenon, he insisted, belonged to a "higher class of art." Measured against a numerical scale that determined the "true principles of beauty in art," the Taj secured a ranking of 20, as against the Parthenon's 24, the "highest known." It was thus "near enough to the Parthenon for comparison at least." But beyond that Fergusson could not go. Though "in its class" the Taj might be "unsurpassed," no Indian building could be allowed to challenge the greatest masterpiece of Europe's classical antiquity.⁴⁹

The British did not judge equally all periods of Mughal architecture. For Fergusson, indeed, the contrast between the work of Akbar's reign and that of his seventeenth-century successors was so great as almost to mark out separate styles: the first, a style of "manly vigour and exuberant originality"; the second, that of an "extreme but almost effeminate elegance." The difference was visibly manifested in the Agra Fort as the visitor moved from the "red stone palace of Akbar, with its rich sculptures and square Hindu construction" into "the white marble court of the harem of Shah Jehan, with all its feeble prettiness, but at the same time marked with that peculiar elegance which is found only in the East." Each style too had a "chef-d'oeuvre" by which it could be judged: for Akbar the hilltop city of Fatehpur Sikri; for Shah Jahan, of course, the Taj.⁵⁰ These great monuments, for the Victorian student of architecture, each conveyed a meaning and taught a lesson of its own.

The emperor Akbar, from the outset of British study of India, gained a reputation as a humane and liberal ruler. "Nothing in his character," wrote Fergusson, "is so remarkable as the spirit of tolerance that pervaded all his acts." He treated the Hindus, long "hated and trampled under by Mussulman rulers," as H. H. Cole put it, with "wisdom, clemency, and justice." This "more merciful" policy, with other "good results," "encouraged the arts of both races, and gave rise to a mixed style in the buildings of that period." Though the results were "often more picturesque than correct," the buildings of Fatehpur Sikri stand as a testimony to this "mixture" of styles. Cole carefully described, for each of the major monuments of this hilltop capital, the combination of "Hindu" and "Mahomedan" elements that went into its construction. For the most part, in his view, "the principle of construction" was Hindu, and the "decorative treatment Mahometan." Of the Panch Mahal, for instance, he wrote, "Each pillar is surmounted by the Hindu bracket capital, [and] each stone beam of the floor above has its supporting bracket; whilst we obtain a pleasing variety of outline from this horizontal mode

of construction, the eye is at the same time attracted by the great variety of ornamental Mahometan forms bestowed on the columns." Similarly, in the Dewan-i-Khas, the interior central column was "thoroughly Hindu" in its outline and details, while the "carving which covers the shaft and base is of a Saracenic character." Even the white marble tomb of Salim Chishti possessed brackets and pillars "remarkable as being a Mahometan rendering of the description of columns that were built in the Hindu pillared hall at Chillumbrum about the tenth century."⁵¹ Twenty-five years later the *Builder*, in a leading article, discussed the buildings of Fatehpur Sikri in nearly identical terms. They concluded, however, that the "Saracenic taste and influence became more marked as the building went on," so that the older structures retained "more of the native impress."⁵²

For the British, clearly, Fatehpur Sikri, "a romance in stone" that testified to the greatness of its builder, represented an ideal that fitted their conception of their own role in India. In both politics and architecture, as they saw it, while the elements of "Hindu" and of "Muslim" India retained always their separate identity, the wise ruler, tolerant and far-seeing, shaped them to form a greater unity that secured the interests of all. What Akbar had done as he built an empire, and a capital, so too would they.

The magnificence of Shah Jahan's marble structures overwhelmed, and yet troubled, Victorian British observers. They could not help but be impressed by the richness, elegance, and majesty of these buildings. Of the Moti Masjid, or Pearl Mosque, in the Agra Fort, for instance, Fergusson wrote, "I hardly know, anywhere, of a building so perfectly pure and elegant, or one that forms such a wonderful contrast with the buildings of Akbar in the same palace."⁵³ At the same time, however, the architect R. F. Chisholm noted with "feelings of apprehension" the "very picturesque and florid marble style of upper India finding favour with the public . . . to the neglect of the less showy, purer, and to my mind equally beautiful sandstone works." In many of the marble works, he continued, "appearances only are considered, the art ceasing to be structural, and partaking of the elements of upholstery." Even so, almost despite himself, he felt obliged to exempt the Taj Mahal from these strictures. "Before I saw the Taj," he wrote, "I was not favourably disposed towards it. It is in a certain degree irritating to be told that a single rose contains thirty-seven pieces of inlay, and that there are so many hundreds of these roses

all exactly alike! but when, thinking of other things, the sunlit Taj burst on my view from the gloom of the great entrance gateway, so scenic and wonderful was the effect that for a moment I thought the whole thing a trick."⁵⁴

The Taj obviously posed special problems for the Victorian student of architecture. It was simply not possible to disparage it, no matter what one thought of Mughal building as a whole. Even in 1789 Thomas Daniell reported that the building had "always" been considered the finest work of "Mahomedan architecture" in India, while his fellow artist William Hodges, seeing the Taj from across the Jamuna, said at the same time that the effect was "such, I confess, I never experienced from any work of art."⁵⁵ The reasons for this continuing admiration of the Taj lie deeply embedded in the history of European aesthetics and cannot be explored here. Part of the attraction, however, was surely to be found in the building's parklike setting within a large formal garden adjacent to the river, which "lends a charm to the whole," and evoked perhaps something of the aura of a spacious English country house. The Taj also ideally fitted the British conception of the "Orient." As Emerson wrote, "Its romantic situation, dazzling brilliancy, excessive elaboration, and the particularly refined, though lavish display of wealth in its ornamentation, make it beyond all others a place in which a cold-blooded Caucasian [*sic*] can perhaps realize somewhat of the poetical and luxurious feeling of the voluptuous Easterns." The custom of a moonlight viewing, as it was no doubt meant to, further enhanced this quality of exoticism. The building is "most suitable," Emerson commented, "to the romantic idea of a tomb, for with its pale grey and bluish shadows, and its wonderful beauty, it gives one, by moonlight, very much the idea of a ghost itself."⁵⁶

The British sought to come to terms with the Taj by linking it to Europe. This was done, not by finding a European origin for its structural forms, as in the case of the dome, but more straightforwardly, by asserting that the building was, as Emerson put it, "chiefly the work of an Italian." The evidence for such a claim, as both Emerson and Fergusson were well aware, was circumstantial at best. Emerson argued only that much about the structure was "very Italian in feeling" and that it possessed ornament "similar to Florentine work." He speculated too that as the Taj was built "at a time when Italians were to be found all over the world, fleeing from ducal tyranny," some "may have found their way into the

centre of India; and they could have ingratiated themselves in no more favourable manner with the luxurious Mogul Emperors than by assistance in the art of magnificent building."⁵⁷ Fergusson, on his part, singled out the use of *pietra dura* work, in which semiprecious stones were inlaid in marble. This form of decoration, he argued, originated in Renaissance Italy and was then introduced into India in the seventeenth century by "needy Italian adventurers." Although he could himself identify only one such individual, it was still, he said, "hardly to be expected that natives should record the names of those who surpassed them in their own arts."⁵⁸ In this manner the exotic could be brought into the realm of the familiar, and the unique qualities of the Taj ascribed to European rather than Asian genius.

Fergusson, and with him other Victorian observers, could not resist the power of the great Mughal monuments of the seventeenth century. They carefully studied and mapped them, and, as we shall see, incorporated into their own buildings design elements drawn from them. But these majestic structures did not say what the British wanted said. Too lavish and sumptuous, they conveyed a message of opulence that ran counter to the British vision of their own role in India; and hence they could only be ambivalently praised. The British, after all, conceived of themselves not as arrogantly elegant "Sun Kings" in the style of Shah Jahan, but as heirs of the wise and tolerant Akbar.

From the time of Aurangzeb (1658–1707) onward Mughal architecture began its descent into "decadence." Few things in the history of this style, wrote Fergusson, were "more startling" than the "rapid decline in taste" that set in with Aurangzeb's reign. Nor was this "degradation of style" confined to the later Mughals themselves. In the eighteenth century, as Mughal power waned following the death of Aurangzeb, various erstwhile officials and upstart adventurers established regional kingdoms in Oudh, Mysore, and elsewhere. Although some few of the buildings put up by these rulers, among them the tomb of Safdar Jang, the founder of the Oudh dynasty, evoked at least a "reminiscence of former greatness," none, even when "grand and imposing at a distance," could "stand comparison" with the "glories" of Delhi and Agra.⁵⁹ The defects, as the British saw them, of these structures were substantial. In the first place, though often "palatial," they were constructed, not of marble or cut stone, but of brick and rubble ornamented in stucco. Hence, "on closer examination," as the author of the *District Gazetteer* wrote of Lucknow,

the Oudh capital, "the larger buildings almost invariably cause a feeling of disappointment, for Lucknow represents the glorification of stucco, and now that the first freshness has worn off, most of them present an appearance of extreme tawdriness."⁶⁰

The "degraded" character of this architecture was, however, for the most part a result of its "bastard" style, which joined "Saracenic" with European forms. Although, as Lord Napier remarked, Hindu and Muslim might "happily" borrow from one another, to mix in European styles was an "unmitigated misfortune." This "corruption" affected not only the "purity" of the "Saracenic" but the European forms as well. In Lucknow, insisted Fergusson, the "unintelligent vulgarity" with which the classical orders were used created buildings "in the worst possible taste," while in southern India the Wallajapet mosque, which Napier cited as an example of such "degradation," possessed a "facade composed of a classical portico with Saracenic pinnacles, while the surrounding cloister is Hindu." Borrowing from the West, in sum, might enhance the beauty of the Taj or of Gandharan sculpture; but, in an era of decline, Western forms would inevitably be tainted by, and their use further degrade, a "dying art."⁶¹

The increasing "decadence" of Mughal architecture, as the eighteenth century progressed, carried with it obvious political implications. Fergusson was fully aware that the kingdom of Oudh, though a product of the collapse of Mughal power, owed its continued existence after 1765 to the support of the British East India Company. It was "one of our creations," so the British had therefore to bear some of the responsibility for the "debauchery and corruption" of its rulers and for their architectural "abominations." Nevertheless, he said, as "things went on from bad to worse," the "nuisance became intolerable," so that in the end it was necessary to put an end to the kingdom.⁶² Clearly, the perception of the eighteenth century as an era of "utter degradation" helped justify, where it did not itself fuel, the British conquest of India.

Reflections and Reappraisals

This Victorian British assessment of India's architecture—with its view of overall decline, and a definition of all architectural elements as "Hindu" or as "Muslim"—has commonly been taken as self-evidently represent-

ing an enduring historic reality. Yet, as all aesthetic judgments are inevitably cultural constructions, other peoples at other times almost certainly responded in different ways to the great monuments of India's past. It would be worth knowing, for instance, how the builders themselves, or European travelers of the seventeenth century, understood the Taj Mahal or the medieval Hindu temple. The Taj certainly, almost from the moment of its construction, was hailed by Indian and European alike as a masterpiece of architecture, yet precisely in what fashion is far from clear. Here it is possible only to look briefly in conclusion at the fate in the twentieth century of the Victorian consensus. How far, and in what ways, has its explanatory power been sustained, and how far eroded, by subsequent generations?

Fergusson's construction of the nature of Indian architecture remained authoritative well beyond his death in 1886. Indeed, his disciple and friend James Burgess in 1910 published a revised and enlarged edition of the *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, and so gave a new lease on life to Fergusson's theories. This work, the art historian Pramod Chandra has written, "still remains the general standard text on Indian architecture."⁶³ Nevertheless, within a few years of the appearance of this revised edition, the first challenges to its orthodoxy appeared in print. In his work on Dravidian architecture, published in 1914, the Frenchman Gabriel Jouveau-Dubreuil brought order to the study of South India's temples, which he classified by chronology and style; and so made possible a reversal of Fergusson's hostile appraisal. In a wide-ranging history of India's architecture, published in 1913, Ernest B. Havell, principal of the Calcutta School of Art, took issue with what he called the "fixed idea" that "everything really great in Indian art" had been introduced by foreigners, and with it the habit of judging India's architecture by values derived from a study of the West. India's art, no matter of which era, he insisted, had an integrity of its own and so constituted a "history of national life and thought." Even "Muhammadan architecture" participated in a "continuous development of Indian building traditions." The "first duty" of the historian was to "realise for himself" the distinctive qualities that constituted this "Indianness."⁶⁴

The reappraisal inaugurated by the contentious and speculative Havell was extended and consolidated by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy (1877-1947). Born in Ceylon of mixed parentage, and subsequently settled in Britain, Coomaraswamy, by his rigorous and wide-ranging scholarship, established Indian art history on a wholly new basis. Not only did he ini-

tiate study of the hitherto unknown school of Rajput painting, he elucidated as well the symbolic inner meaning of the architectural forms shaping the Hindu temple. The temple, in his view, not only was a building sheltering the image and the worshipers, but itself represented the cosmos, and thus carried with it a significance beyond and apart from whatever categories Europeans imposed upon it. This approach was developed further, for the monuments of Southeast Asia, by the French scholar Paul Mus, and for the Indian temple itself, by the American Stella Kramrisch, whose *Hindu Temple*, published in 1946, remains, in Pramod Chandra's view, "the outstanding work on the meaning and symbolism of the sacred building."⁶⁵

It is not wholly by accident that French, South Asian, and American scholars contributed so much to the overturning of the Fergusson approach to Indian architecture, for they stood, to some degree at least, outside the conventions of British scholarship on India. Larger currents of change, however, aesthetic and political alike, as European self-confidence waned in the years after the First World War, pushed forward this process of reappraisal. By the 1920s it was no longer possible to proclaim the superiority of classically influenced Gandharan sculpture over that of Mathura and the later Gupta Empire, as Vincent Smith, in the face even then of growing criticism, had sought to do in 1911. Nor were the dome-building abilities of the Bijapur rulers rated so highly in the face of a revived interest in the architecture of the medieval temple. Similarly, the assertion that the Taj was the work of a European architect found its last defender in Vincent Smith, and then was heard of no more.⁶⁶ Inevitably too, as part of this larger reevaluation, the notion that India's artistic creativity had declined from antiquity onward fell into disrepute.

Much in the older view nevertheless remained unquestioned. No one, for instance, until recent years, though Hermann Goetz defended the "rococo" beauty of its art, disputed the assumption that the eighteenth century was an era of cultural decadence.⁶⁷ Most important, however, was the persisting belief that architectural style and religious affiliation were somehow linked together. Throughout the first half of the twentieth century and beyond, the categories in which scholars conceived of Indian buildings remained stubbornly grounded in communal identity, above all that of "Hindu" and "Muslim." The rise of nationalism, if anything, reinforced this mode of analysis, for the insistent self-identification of India's peoples as Hindu and Muslim, which led, among other things, to the creation of Pakistan, carried with it the implication that these had

always been the appropriate categories in which the peoples of the sub-continent defined themselves. In the end, by the logic of historicism, the categories came to justify themselves.

For the British, as we have seen, the use of these communal categories advanced important political objectives. Convinced that religious affiliation provided the key to understanding the people of India, they had, almost of necessity, to impose communal labels upon India's historic architecture. If all buildings and all stylistic elements could be seen as either "Hindu" or "Muslim," then, where the elements were "mixed," as at Fatehpur Sikri, the result could be described as a "blended" style that brought formerly antagonistic communities together to live in amity under the direction of a wise ruler. Furthermore, if all architectural elements were defined as "Hindu" or as "Muslim," nothing remained unknown. Everything—the arch, the dome, the bracket capital, the decorative motif—had its place in a comprehensive system. What the colonial ruler had explained, he of course controlled; and so the British could act with a confident sense of mastery as they sought, rather as they conceived that Akbar had done, to shape an Indic architecture of their own.

The British did not always find it easy to fit these communal categories to the buildings they were meant to describe. Not surprisingly, the greater the stylistic "mixture" they found in a structure, the more awkwardly, and arbitrarily, it was placed in an appropriate category. So-called Hindu and Sikh building of the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, for example, powerfully influenced by contemporaneous Mughal architecture, created exceptionally intractable problems of classification. As H. H. Cole put it, compared even with Akbar's own "mixed style," the Hindus of that era exhibited in their buildings "a still more liberal adoption of Mahomedan forms."⁶⁸ For the most part, commentators like Fergusson classified these buildings as "Hindu" because of the religious faith of their builders; but they did so with obvious reluctance in view of the clear stylistic affinities with Mughal work. The Amber palace of the Jaipur raja Man Singh, Fergusson acknowledged, "throughout bears a strong impress of that influence which Akbar's mind and works stamped on everything that was done in India during his reign," yet it was an "illustration of the architecture of that day as seen from a Hindu . . . point of view." In similar fashion, the eighteenth-century garden palace of the Jat rajahs of Dig (fig. 8), Richard Temple wrote, "is so superior in its particular way to anything else among the Hindoos, that we may believe it borrowed some



8. Detail of Singh Pol gate, Dig, c. 1765. Photograph by author.

of its ideas from the Mohammedans." But, he insisted, "for all that it is Hindoo, and the Mohammedans have never themselves produced such a gem."⁶⁹

Difficulty of classification bred uncertainty and controversy. Purdon Clarke, for instance, insisted that the Golden Temple at Amritsar, "though built by the Sikhs, is strictly Moghul." He argued too, in opposition to Temple, that "in the same manner" the palaces of "Deeg, Ulwer, Oodipoor, and Jeypoor are of the same style, though built by Hin-

doo princes.”⁷⁰ Dig, in particular, with its foliated arches, bracket cornices, and formal gardens, fascinated the British. How to characterize its architecture correctly, as we shall see later, gave rise to a prolonged and bitter argument within the British Indian government, and had enduring practical consequences for their own building. There was agreement only that it must be either “Hindu” or “Muslim.”

Only within the last few years have scholars seriously questioned the appropriateness of communal categories. There is, it is now widely accepted, no evidence for fundamental differences among the art of the various Indian religions, nor does the nature of the religion affect the quality of the art. As a result, alternate modes of classification are being developed. Most useful is perhaps the notion of regional styles, shared among religious communities, that embody the “taste” of particular eras. Hindu, Muslim, and Jain in Gujerat, for instance, clearly share far more than separates them; so too do the eighteenth-century rajas of Dig and Rajasthan participate jointly with the later Mughals in a larger regional culture. Most fascinating surely is the current reassessment of the architecture of the Vijayanagar empire. This work, especially that of George Michell, indicates how much that “Hindu” state shared with its “Muslim” neighbor at Bijapur, as well as the way many of its structures elude sectarian classification.⁷¹

Fergusson, with his elaboration of subclassifications within both Hindu and Muslim architecture, was fully aware of the importance of regional styles. Yet, trapped by the assumptions that undergirded the communal categories, he was disabled from following through their fuller implications. In similar fashion, Victorian critics such as Alexander Cunningham appreciated the importance of chronological classification but never used this mode of analysis to challenge that based on continuities of style within religious communities. Part of this reluctance doubtless arose from a realization that to talk of “the taste of the times” would reduce the opportunity to link architecture directly to politics. No doubt a powerful builder, like Akbar, might define the “taste” of an era, and even use architecture to undergird his claims to political legitimacy. But the British wished to see in Akbar a ruler who consciously manipulated fixed, and socially meaningful, architectural elements to achieve a set political objective. This, after all, was what the British themselves sought to accomplish in their building. Simply to participate in the ongoing development of India’s historic architecture was not sufficient.

3

Indo-Saracenic Building Under the Raj

In May 1857 the sepoys of the Bengal Army rose in revolt throughout northern India. Within weeks the mutinous soldiery, who had seized Delhi and raised anew the standard of the Mughal Empire, were joined by disaffected groups in the countryside. Landlords and peasants, princes and merchants, Hindus and Muslims, each for their own reasons, alike threw off the British yoke and sought their own independence. Large reaches of the country, above all in the northern and western Gangetic plain, remained out of British control for a year and more; in the recently annexed province of Oudh desperate fighting continued until the very end of 1858.

As the victorious British armies moved on the rebel strongholds, the uprising was ruthlessly suppressed. Nevertheless, the events of that momentous year shattered forever the complacency that had marked the earlier years of Britain’s Raj. In 1858 the East India Company was abolished, and direct Crown rule was instituted; at the same time, determined to avert any further challenge to their supremacy, the British undertook a more thorough and systematic governance of their far-flung Indian possessions. The white garrison was substantially increased, and the sepoys were largely drawn from the so-called martial races of the northwest who had collaborated in the suppression of the rising. Roads driven through the heart of old bazaars, with the erection of military cantonments and civil stations, imposed a new order on India’s cities, while in the countryside the conciliation of princely and landed elites guaranteed a new stability.¹ The construction of a network of railways, largely completed by the 1870s, firmly subordinated India to the commercial and military needs of the British Empire. There was to be no challenge to Britain’s predominance in India for over half a century.

As the sinews of rule were strengthened, so too during these years of reconstruction did the British first begin to formulate an ideology of empire. While the shift to Crown rule by itself signified no more than a change in the agency by which the ongoing Government of India was supervised, India now possessed not only a governor-general but a viceroy; and as time went on an elaboration of ritual in India foreshadowed the larger conception of Britain as itself an imperial power that lay at the heart of the late-century "new imperialism." The capstone was Disraeli's Royal Titles Act of 1876 by which Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India. Though subjected to much criticism by Liberals fearful of the reassertion of royal power within England, this act at once defined and inaugurated, with the elaborate ceremonial of Lytton's 1877 Imperial Assemblage, Britain's self-conscious presentation of itself as an imperial power.²

Though much of Lytton's symbolic repertoire was derived from European feudalism, the Assemblage was nevertheless set on the plains of Delhi, the historic seat of the Mughal emperors, and announced Britain's intention to fit its Indian empire to that of the Mughals, whose throne lay vacant with the expulsion of the last living king of Delhi in 1858. Such a decision was at once politically convenient, for the power of the Mughal name had been revealed for all to see in 1857, and fitted, as we shall see later, the late-Victorian conception of the "Orient" as a land of tradition-bound peoples. To be sure, throughout the later nineteenth century, the British still continued to regard themselves as latter-day Romans and to define their Indian empire in terms derived from Rome. Officials such as Alfred Lyall never hesitated to compare Britain's role in India with that of Rome in its eastern territories.³ But in India after the Mutiny the British began to construct for themselves a notion of empire in which they were not mere foreign conquerors, like the Romans, but legitimate, almost indigenous rulers, linked directly to the Mughals and hence to India's own past.

Not surprisingly, as the British set out to define their empire in Indian terms, they sought to incorporate Indian styles into their building activities. As William Emerson had argued so forthrightly in his debate with T. Roger Smith in 1873, the British should follow the example of their Muslim predecessors, who had "seized upon the art indigenous to the countries they conquered, adapting it to suit their own needs and ideas." And, he insisted, his argument from precedent informed with the Orientalist notions of the period, the British could not do otherwise; for "it

was impossible for the architecture of the west to be suitable to the natives of the east."⁴ In this enterprise the archeological work of James Fergusson suddenly took on a new relevance. In the 1840s and 1850s, after his return to Britain, Fergusson had found, so he later complained, an unsympathetic public, "not then prepared for such works," and so he had for a time abandoned his publishing activities.⁵ In the post-Mutiny era, as the British sought more fully to understand, and thus to control, the colonial peoples, India's architectural heritage, at once a guide to its past and a model for the future, gained a new importance. It is no doubt a coincidence, but nevertheless a revealing one, that Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* found a publisher in the same year that Queen Victoria was created Empress of India.

Chisholm and the Origins of the Indo-Saracenic Style

As the British considered how best to incorporate Indic features into their architectural work, they inevitably brought to the task those preconceptions that, as we have seen, had shaped Fergusson's and other Victorian critics' study of India's past. These involved, above all else, a theory of perpetual decline from an ancient greatness, a conception of architecture as expressive of religious affiliation, and an unwillingness to accept as aesthetically satisfying any art not linked to an origin in the West. As the British disdained the "idolatrous" Hindu religion, so too inevitably did they disdain the "Hindu" architectural styles that, in their view, expressed its values in stone. Further, this architecture was "defective," as the Madras governor, Lord Napier, pointed out in 1870, not only from an "aesthetic" but from a "scientific" point of view as well. Its "ruling feature" was the "horizontal line: the wall or the column supports a beam, the beam supports a flat roof. When the building is lofty, the fabric ascends by successive horizontal stages, one succeeding another in diminishing proportions to the apex." By itself the "mechanical deficiencies" of the "Hindu" style, weighted down by the "despotism of material" and overwhelmed by sculptural ornamentation, rendered it, in Napier's view, "unavailable, under the present Government, for the purposes of State, and ill adapted for the common and public use of the collective people." Such a style was alone suited to domestic building, where its principles of shade and seclusion fitted it ideally to both India's society and its climate.⁶

The arch and dome, the principal features of the "Saracenic" style, were by contrast, Napier went on, "the most beautiful, the most scientific, and the most economical" ways of covering large spaces, and so were as suitable for modern buildings—railway stations, theaters, galleries, and lecture halls—as for their traditional employment in mosques and tombs. Much of the appeal of the "Saracenic," as we have seen, was to be found in the association of the arch and dome with early Christendom, with the Roman and Byzantine empires, and with Renaissance notions of ideal beauty. For the purposes of British building, however, an attractive feature was its economical management of stress, which avoided the "vast application of material in its most weighty and expensive form" that the horizontal style demanded. Central to the appeal of this style too, of course, were its political implications, for the Saracenic was the style associated above all with the Mughal Empire, whose power and majesty the British now wished to claim as their own. As they set out to represent their own as authentically an Indian empire, the British were inevitably drawn to the "Saracenic." Indeed, Napier argued, the Government of India would "do well to consider whether the Mussulman form might not be adopted generally as the official style of architecture."⁷

Yet the construction of public buildings in a "Saracenic" or any other Indian style was not to be easily accomplished. The British had first to come to terms with the structural forms of Indic architecture and then to devise ways of accommodating these forms to the novel purposes of British Indian building. This was to be a long-drawn-out process, whose objectives were not fully realized until the 1880s and 1890s. It began, however, in Madras with the appointment in 1865 of Robert Fellowes Chisholm (1840–1915) as consulting architect to the presidency government. Chisholm came initially to Madras, after a brief period of practice in Calcutta for the Bengal Public Works Department, in response to the announcement of an open competition for the design of new buildings for the Presidency College and the Madras University Senate House. The college design, to house the province's premiere educational institution, founded in 1854, was Italianate, not Saracenic, in character, but it gained Chisholm the competition prize of Rs. 3,000, and shortly thereafter his official post, which he held for some twenty years, until the mid-1880s.⁸

In 1866, following the appointment of Lord Napier as governor of Madras, and with Napier's encouragement, Chisholm began to incorpo-

rate "Saracenic" designs into his official building. His first comprised offices for the Board of Revenue at Chepauk Palace. Napier, indeed, viewed this work as providing a "practical demonstration" of how the "Mussulman style" might be adopted to "contemporaneous use." With it, the governor proudly proclaimed, Chisholm had at once "paid the first tribute to the genius of the past" and "set the first example of a revival in native art, which, I hope, will not remain unappreciated and unfruitful."⁹ Chisholm's work was, of course, as we shall see, a "revival" only from the very distinctive perspective of the late-Victorian colonial ruler.

At first glance it might seem inappropriate for the British in the far south of India, where the Mughals had not extended their rule, to talk of Saracenic-styled structures as "native art" and to encourage their construction. Yet Mughal armies had penetrated the far south in the late seventeenth century and had left as their legacy a Muslim suzerainty exercised by the nawabs of the Carnatic, whose residence was established at Arcot. During the wars of the mid-eighteenth century, as the British and French contended for mastery, the victorious British placed Muhammad Ali on the throne of Arcot as their puppet ruler. To escape the continuing warfare in the countryside, the nawab soon sought refuge in Madras, where in 1767 he secured a 117-acre enclave near the Fort on which to build a permanent residence.¹⁰

Still in his own eyes nawab of the Carnatic, Muhammad Ali brought with him to Madras a large retinue, and he constructed a commodious palace of two blocks: one single-storied, containing his durbar hall, known as the Humayun Mahal; the other the double-storied Khalsa Mahal. There was also a Marine Villa known as the Hasht Bangla (fig. 9). As his architect, the nawab employed a European, almost certainly Paul Benfield, an engineer in the Company's service who had impressed him as a man with a "good skill in beginning and finishing the works of buildings," and who later gained notoriety as a principal creditor in the scandal of the nawab of Arcot's debts. Little is known about the construction of the building or its precise architectural style, later described as the "mixed Hindoo-Mahomedan so common in the south of India." Its most distinctive feature, apart from the octagonal bathing pavilion, was the durbar hall, which Lord Valentia, visiting in 1804, described as "extremely handsome, of large dimensions and divided by pillars."¹¹ After the annexation of the Carnatic in 1801, portions of the palace grounds



9. Marine Villa (Hasht Bangla), Madras, constructed by Muhammad Ali, nawab of the Carnatic, in the late eighteenth century. The building was

demolished to make way for the Madras University. Photograph from the *Tuzuk-i-Walajahi* (Madras, 1934).

were taken over by the government, but the successive nawabs remained in residence, confined to the palace, until the dynasty was extinguished in 1855. The government then acquired the entire property.

Chepauk Palace set down prominently in the heart of Madras a massive structure of "Saracenic" design, which remained as well, until 1855, the focus of a continuing Islamic court. Hence it is not surprising that such a style of architecture should be seen, in Chisholm's time, as a model suitable, even in South India, for British building in the "native" style. Further, one might be tempted to see in Benfield, as a British builder in the "Saracenic" style, a precursor of Chisholm himself. Yet the political climate, and the English relationship to Indian culture, in Benfield's time bore little resemblance to that of the Raj of a hundred years later. Benfield can perhaps most usefully be seen as a participant in the "Indianized" culture characteristic of the eighteenth century "nabob," employed by the Arcot nawab on his terms, and working within the ongoing architectural traditions of late Mughal India.¹² Although these traditions had themselves been modified by the European presence, of which the Hasht

Bangla, with its unusual shape, bungalow shutters, and entrance stairway, is itself evidence, there was no question of the manipulation of the elements of Indic design to represent a British Indian empire. For Benfield, unlike Chisholm or Napier, Saracenic building did not involve a self-conscious "revival" of "native art."

A century later, the Chepauk property now firmly in British hands, Napier by a process of alteration and addition transformed the palace into government offices. The Public Works building, with the Engineering College, incorporated the old Khalsa Mahal, while the Humayun Mahal was integrated into Chisholm's new Revenue Board building. Completed in 1871, the Revenue Board building retained, so *Indian Engineering* described it, "the general lines of the old structure," but took its "details and many forms from purer [presumably more 'Saracenic'] types of the style." Chisholm further raised in the courtyard between the two palace buildings a Record Tower, which, the Public Works Department reported, "groups the whole series of buildings in a pleasing manner." The entire work cost nearly two lakhs of rupees and won praise not only from Lord Napier, but, so the *Builder* reported, from "Europeans and Natives" alike in the locality (fig. 10).¹³



10. The Revenue Board building, Madras, designed by R. F. Chisholm. From *The Builder*, 31 December 1870.

The presence of the old palace, to which Napier insisted the new building must in any case be "assimilated" in its architectural style, made adoption of a "Saracenic" design for the Revenue Board building almost inevitable. Chisholm's one original contribution to the scheme was the red-and-white horizontally striped tower, boasting domed corner spires, a massive parapet, and a crowning onion dome. Inserted for picturesque effect, such towers were to become, as we shall see, a distinctive feature of British building in the Indo-Saracenic mode. In his other work during the late 1860s and early 1870s Chisholm moved cautiously to elaborate an Indic-styled British architecture. He had, like his patron, Lord Napier, no doubt that British India required its own architecture. "We have arrived," he told the Madras University Senate in 1869, arguing on behalf of the endowment of a chair in the subject, "at a most important period in the history of architecture in this country, and it will be decided in the course of the next five or ten years whether we are to have a style suited to the requirements of this country, or whether we are to be the mere copyists of every bubble which breaks on the surface of European art, and import our architecture, with our beer and our hats, by every mail-steamer which leaves the shores of England."¹⁴

Yet the idea of incorporating Indic forms into British building did not receive a universal assent, nor was there agreement as to what an architecture "suited to the requirements" of India ought to consist of. The University Senate rejected Chisholm's proposed chair by a unanimous vote; it was, after all, only a decade since Madras had celebrated its escape from the Mutiny by a Memorial Hall erected in a classical Greek style. Defending himself from the Gothicists, Chisholm acknowledged that, although the "principles" that underlay Gothic architecture could inform building in India as elsewhere, it was not possible to introduce "the familiar forms and details" of Gothic design, for they become "parched and shrivelled in this country." In any case, he insisted, once a design is completed, "we have yet to deal with the work itself and with the workmen, the men who will actually leave the impress of their hands on the materials, and these men have an art-language of their own, a language you can recognize, but cannot thoroughly understand. For this reason an architect practising in India should unhesitatingly elect to practise in the native styles of art—indeed, the natural art-expression of these men is the *only* art to be obtained in the country."¹⁵

Unlike Napier, who insisted that "Saracenic" alone was appropriate for official British building, Chisholm remained open to a variety of

stylistic influences. He found attractive, for instance, the seventeenth-century palace of Tirumal Naik, the Telegu warrior of Madurai, whose architecture he described in loving detail for the Royal Institute of British Architects in 1876. Both in this talk and again in 1883, while accepting without question the existence of distinct "Hindoo" and "Saracenic" building styles, he argued that Indian builders had never endeavored rigorously to keep them separate from each other. As the palace of the "thoroughly orthodox" Tirumal Naik joined "Saracenic" with "Hindoo" forms, and even used "Hindoo interpretations of European forms," so too did Muslim builders make "free use of Hindu workmen, and adopt their forms in religious structures: hence much that is really Hindu passes for Mohammedan."¹⁶ Reflecting perhaps his continuing concern with the preservation of Indian crafts, for he was simultaneously director of the Madras School of Industrial Art, Chisholm was prepared as well to teach the South Indian artist to "ornament his structure—not with the so-called five orders of architecture, but with the 500 orders to be found in the columns of his own temples, with the ornamentation of his own country, with the forms most grateful [*sic*] to his eye." However much the European architect might be responsible for a building's design, the Indian artisan, he insisted, had always to be left "unfettered" to ornament the structure in the "Native style."¹⁷

As a result, especially in his early building, Chisholm sought inspiration from a range of sources. Apart from the Saracenic, two styles, in particular, attracted him: the Byzantine and that of Travancore. The Byzantine had the advantage, as Chisholm confronted a skeptical official audience, of representing a sort of compromise between the familiarity of the European and the strangeness of the Indian. Napier had himself suggested the employment of Byzantine styles in India for those types of buildings, such as Christian churches, where Europeans would feel uncomfortable in Saracenic surroundings; for the Byzantine and the Saracenic, he wrote, "have ever retained a certain family likeness, and the common possession of the dome constitutes a capital point of union."¹⁸ Chisholm's major work incorporating "Byzantine" elements was the University Senate House, begun in 1874 and completed in 1879 at a cost of over three lakhs of rupees. Extravagant and idiosyncratic in its design, the structure boasted a huge raised hall marked out at each corner by a tower crowned by an onion dome. Each tower face was decorated with polychromatic brick and colored tile, while soaring arches admitted light into the hall itself. (See plate 2.)

Chisholm was first drawn to the architecture of Travancore, a small princely state on the southwestern Malabar coast, by an invitation from the Travancore maharaja to design for him a museum, to be known as the Napier Museum in honor of the Madras governor. Disdaining a European style, to the displeasure of the maharaja, who would have preferred a fashionable Gothic structure, Chisholm decided to base the design upon local "Native Art." Similar elements subsequently informed in part the design of the Madras Post and Telegraph Office (1875–84). In a talk at Madras in 1872 Chisholm described how the Napier Museum design took shape. This talk provides a revealing view of the architect at work, as he sought to justify his use of indigenous forms, and hence provides a useful insight into Chisholm's approach to building in an Indic mode.

The "native Architect" of Travancore, Chisholm began, "thinks chiefly of providing a shield and shelter, from sunshine and storm." So great indeed, he continued, "is his desire to protect even the walls from continuous rain, that not unfrequently the appearance of a group of buildings, is roof over roof . . . or a building may resemble a series of sunshades, one above the other." These high-pitched roofs, he argued, "form one of the chief characteristics of the style"; and, he insisted, endeavoring to reassure his suspicious audience, they exhibit "a great similarity" with certain phases of Gothic. But a roof so constructed would "become a perfect oven, were it not for a most admirable system of ventilation, which in its turn gives rise to a feature artistic and elegant in the highest degree." That was a projecting ridge dormer, "elaborated by an astonishing amount of wood carving." Such a roof terminating in a tower, he commented, "is to my mind as pleasing in outline as any thing of the kind to be found in the western world." In the "oldest and more perfect" specimens of these buildings, "glass is unknown, and from this want has arisen perhaps the happiest feature in the style, the railed bracketing which links the eaves to the wall." As the window openings were ordinarily rectangular, it was common for builders to adopt "Mahomedan forms," such as cusped heads of windows, which were "happily subordinated to the style" in wall projections and elsewhere.¹⁹

Chisholm then set out to incorporate these features, whether meant initially for domestic or for public building, into his museum design. In the general plan, he said, "I have rigidly adhered to symmetry as a leading characteristic of all Native Art." A large library and exhibition hall, seventy feet long with a clear span of forty feet rising to roof height of

sixty-two feet, formed the central feature of the building; leading out on either side were display galleries broken by smaller transverse halls. A series of sketches (three of the six are shown in plates 3, 4, and 5) then formed a convenient guide for the selection of individual design elements. "I have endeavoured," he said, "to catch the feeling of crossing roof with roof at right angles and differing spans, seen very clearly in sketches 3 and 4"; the walls he treated "simply, in the spirit of sketches 1 and 6"; the towers "were mere modifications of the little clock tower sketch No. 1." (In fact the elongated museum tower, shown in plate 6, would appear to have little resemblance to the tower of the sketch.) He proposed to leave the finishing and ornamentation of the structure to the native artisan, and to make a free use of wood, for "under existing circumstances, by wood carving alone, can a structure on this Coast be raised from mere building to the dignity of architecture."²⁰

The final design, in Chisholm's view, admirably developed for the novel purposes of a museum the "germs of a style" he had detected, and sketched, in Travancore. As we shall see later, Indic forms, as defined by British builders, continued to shape the design of museums throughout India for many decades. Chisholm himself a few years later utilized many of the basic features of the Travancore design for his Madras Post Office (fig. 11). The shape of the central hall, the towers, the high-pitched roofs and dormers, all recall his museum design. Clearly, although derived from elements of Travancore architecture, these forms were not, as Chisholm saw them, suited only for buildings in that southwestern coastal region. At base they were "Hindoo" forms and so could be employed anywhere. Nor was this all. Beneath the Travancore-styled eaves, wrote the *Building News* as it described the post office design, "all work apparently of wood (and really of wood in the original style) has been changed to stone, as sanctioned in the very beautiful example at Beejapoor, which meets with universal admiration, and from the study of which the projecting canopies have been designed. The arches, columns, and all other details are in cut stone, in the Ahmedabad style of art." The *Building News* went on to assure its readers, lest they be apprehensive over the "adaptations" of "specimens" so widely scattered geographically, that "great care has been taken to preserve artistic unity in the whole design." The overall style, they said, with regard to details "may be termed 'Hindoo-Saracenic.'"²¹ With the construction of the Madras Post Office, Indo-Saracenic architecture—with its self-assured mastery of Indic detail and its mingling of elements from across India—took on a mature form.

11. Post and Telegraph Office, Madras, designed by R. F. Chisholm. From *The Building News*, 27 November 1874, by courtesy of the British Architectural Library, RIBA, London.



Mant and the Designing of the Mayo College

As the Madras Post Office was going up, so too, far to the north in the Rajasthan desert, was another structure, the Mayo College, Ajmer, whose architect, Major C. Mant, was, like Chisholm, destined to play a central role in the elaboration of a distinctive Indic architecture for the Raj. A member of the Royal Engineers, born in 1839, Mant went to India in 1859 at the age of twenty. He first made his mark on Indian architecture with two Gothic designs in the Bombay presidency: a high school in Surat (1868) and a town hall in Kolhapur (1872). These structures were “adapted to the requirements of the climate” by such devices as arcaded verandahs running along the entire length of the building; but they remained otherwise obstinately European.²² From 1872, however, until his death by suicide in 1881—he was distraught at the possibility that one of

his structures might collapse—Mant devoted himself wholly to elaborating an Indic style. He was fortunate in winning the patronage of Sir Richard Temple, governor successively of Bengal and of Bombay during the 1870s. One of the most powerful Indian officials of his day, Temple prided himself on his appreciation of India’s architecture, and on one occasion in retirement even addressed the Royal Institute of British Architects on the subject. Temple “warmly appreciated” Mant’s efforts to incorporate indigenous elements in his designs, and secured Mant’s transfer, first to Bengal and then back to Bombay. Through Temple’s influence too Mant in 1875 secured from the Government of India the commission for Mayo College.²³ Contested and controversial, the design for this structure was to mark the coming of age of colonial building in the Indic style. (See plate 7.) The school itself also reinforced, by its very nature, the distinctive imperial ideology that informed its architecture.

The Mayo College had its origin in a scheme by Lord Mayo as viceroy of India (1869–72) to educate the sons and relatives of the ruling princes of Rajputana (now Rajasthan) in an environment resembling as closely as possible that of an English boarding school. In the Empire, as at home, so the late Victorians conceived, the upper classes required a distinctive education apart from that of the common people. Such an education, focused on the inculcation of self-reliance, a sense of moral duty, and team spirit, all tested on the playing field, was meant to serve a special function: that of fitting young men for leadership in the service of the Empire.²⁴

The Rajput princes, one-time desert rulers now attached to the Raj as its loyal feudatories, still exercised authority, under the watchful eye of a British resident, over their states. Even more than the English boy did the Indian prince-to-be, in the British view, require the training of the public school, for in no other way, as Mayo's foreign secretary wrote, could the young chief escape the "fawning parasitism, inseparable in the East from rank and coming power," and, above all, the intrigues of the palace *zanana* (women's quarters), where much of his boyhood education ordinarily took place. Under the instruction of an English staff, at a school of their own, an "Eton in India," these Rajput chieftains would not only learn English and mathematics but also secure the "all-round education, particularly in relation to character, that is admittedly the product of the English public school system." Brought up "as a gentleman should be," they would return home to rule their states justly and fairly—as, indeed, the English ex-schoolboy himself ruled the Empire.²⁵

A series of chiefs' colleges were, from the 1870s, spread across northern and central India; but Mayo, in part because of its location in the heart of princely Rajputana, was from the beginning acknowledged as preeminent. Control of the college was vested in a governing council composed of ranking European officials and Indian chiefs, while a European headmaster and principal supervised the day-to-day operation of the school. Though the college was founded on British initiative, the bulk of its operating funds were secured by princely endowments. The major princes each agreed, in addition, over the objection of officials who would have preferred English-style mixed boarding, to erect a residence for the boys from his state. For itself the Indian government took on the responsibility of constructing the central college building, used for lectures and academic functions.²⁶

The question of the appropriate architectural style for the college

building was not to be resolved easily. In the end seven separate designs, submitted by four different architects to three viceroys, were required before construction finally began in 1878. As this protracted debate forced all the participants, British and princes alike, to consider afresh the relationship of empire and architecture, it is worth looking at with some care. Three alternate conceptions—which may be called the European classical, the mixed "Hindoo-Saracenic," and the "pure" Hindu—shaped the debate. The classical was Lord Mayo's original preference. In the summer of 1871 he asked J. Gordon, appointed executive engineer for the college, to prepare a plan for a "plain but handsome Hall, with class rooms surrounding a pillared verandah." The princes, when belatedly consulted over a year later, gave their support too, for reasons we shall examine presently, to the "Grecian" design. In the meantime, however, Mayo had changed his mind. In December 1871, while Gordon was in Ajmer arranging for a supply of marble, Mayo ordered him to prepare a "Hindoo" design. Mayo acknowledged that a classical design might "be superior in beauty essentially," but it was, he had now decided, "less appropriate for the objects in view," that is, a princely boarding school in India, than "a design based on Hindoo models."²⁷

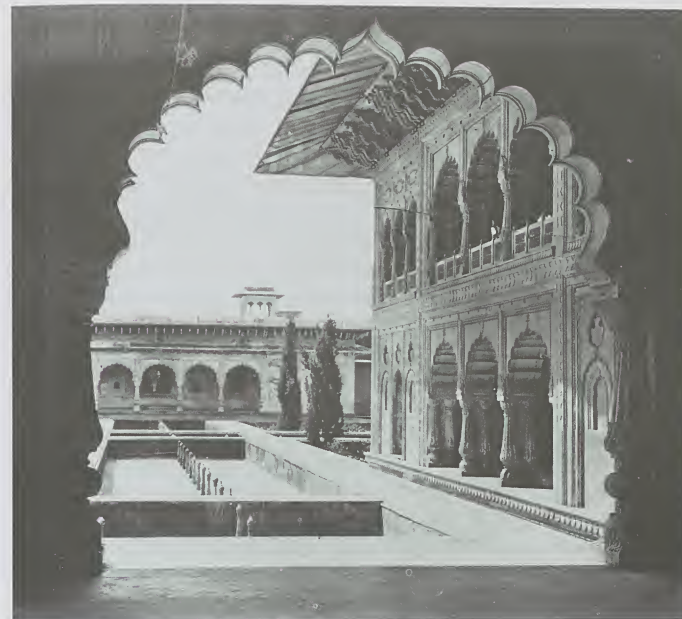
In Mayo's view, the best "Hindoo" models were to be found at Dig, the deserted eighteenth-century Jat capital near Agra; and so he ordered Gordon to visit and sketch this site before drawing up his new design. He further instructed Gordon to consult with General Alexander Cunningham, director of the archeological survey; for Cunningham, as an acknowledged expert on India's past, was, so Mayo wrote, the "best authority" on the "question of the style of Hindoo architecture most suitable to the tastes of the Rajpoots." Gordon visited not only Dig but the nearby Mughal buildings of Agra and Fatehpur Sikri, and six months later submitted a design in what he called a "modern Hindoo or Indian saracene style" of architecture. Though all the buildings he had inspected, he wrote, "afforded many useful hints for the work entrusted to me," this new design was "not a mere copy" of any historic building. It was rather a structure "having the spirit of the style suggested to me as a type" and was at the same time "suitable to the requirements of a College and to the present age."²⁸

To Cunningham, however, the design was fatally flawed by its reliance upon the eighteenth-century architecture of Dig. Though the residence of a "Hindu Prince," Cunningham asserted, the palace at Dig was in its architectural style "purely Mahomedan," with "very little if any

trace of the real Hindu architecture about it, either in its outlines or in its details." Indeed, he wrote contemptuously, the palace at Dig, and with it Gordon's revised design for the college, "belong to the common class of modern Mahomedan garden architecture." Cunningham then proceeded to define what a properly "Hindu" architecture ought to consist of. One striking peculiarity, pronounced the self-assured archeologist, "is a rich profusion of ornament, not a mere surface scratching intended to take the place of mouldings, but delicately carved lines of foliage, which cover the mouldings themselves, adding beauty to their massiveness, and giving a pleasing variety to their long lines of bright light and deep shadow." To increase the amount of ornamentation Cunningham altered Gordon's design in a variety of ways. He added ornamental borders to the doors and windows, canopied balconies supported on brackets to the windows of the tower, and, to break up the long parallel lines of the parapets, a pair of small closed turrets above the entrance, and two open cupolas on the upper parapet on each of the four sides of the building. All of these, he insisted, were "strictly according to Hindu usage."

In addition, Cunningham struck out of Gordon's design the "plain hemispherical or round domes," which, he said, were "purely Mahomedan." Hindu builders, he acknowledged, among them the rajas of Dig, did occasionally make use of such domes. So also, he argued, with a stupendous leap, "do they make use of English shoes; but no one has yet ventured to call them Indian shoes because they have been partially adopted by the Hindoos." Hindu domes, he patiently explained, were constructed by layers of overlapping stones, and thus presented externally a series of horizontal lines or steps, "of which the Hindoo architect availed himself to revel in ornament." Their usual form "approaches a bell shape, the height being about equal to the diameter."²⁹

Why, one must ask, did Mayo select Dig as an appropriate "Hindu" model if his archeological adviser at once so vigorously repudiated it? How should one characterize the architecture of these Jat rulers, of whom the most prominent, as builder and general alike, was Raja Surajmal (1756-63)? Pavilions laid out along the four sides of a formal garden cut into sections by canals radiating, like the arms of a cross, from a tank in its center, the buildings of Dig incorporated an architecture of formality, balance, and symmetry (fig. 12). Primarily trabeate in character, though using decorative cusped archways, they possessed flat double roofs with carved parapets, projecting balconies and kiosks, and hypostyle halls with sculptured pillars; flanking the main structure, the Go-



12. View from the Gopal Bhawan toward the Kishan Bhawan, Dig. Photograph (1869) from *Illustrations of*

Buildings near Muttra and Agra, Showing the Mixed Hindu and Mahomedan Style of Upper India, p. 46.

pal Bhavan, were two detached smaller pavilions with curvilinear roofs crowned by a row of spikes. The buildings all had small interior canals, chutes, and fountains for the display of water, while the Gopal Bhavan, and the Kesav Bhavan opposite, each overlooked a large reflecting tank. The complex expressed, as a recent writer has put it, "the luxurious Mughal ideal of earthly paradise on the one hand and the romantic tradition associated with the Indian rainy season on the other."³⁰

The attraction of this garden palace for the late-Victorian Englishman was obvious. At once picturesque yet formal, grand but not overwhelming, its buildings "tastefully" ornamented without "over-elaboration" or

"grotesqueness," Dig represented an ideal of graceful refinement. Fergusson described its buildings as surpassing all the Rajput palaces in "grandeur of conception and beauty of detail," and Temple in his discussion of India's architecture at the Royal Institute of British Architects insisted that Dig "answers each and all of our tests to perfection." The "finish of detail within the boldness of outline," he said, "the chiaroscuro produced by the shadows from the projecting eaves; the arrangement of arched windows and doorways; the exquisitely projecting balconies; the balanced proportion between the whole and the parts; the combination of straight lines, curves, and angles; the adaptation of stone material to climatic surroundings—render it quite a study in the art of producing beauty. A school of architectural design could not do better than send out a class of students to note and mark this structure."³¹

Not surprisingly, the architecture of Dig owed much to the Mughals, from the formal layout of the garden, reminiscent of the Taj Mahal, to the structural elements of the design, combining balanced symmetry with elegant decoration, taken from the patterns of Shah Jahan. At the same time, of course, it continued, and developed, traditions of palace architecture found as well at Jaipur, Udaipur, Alwar, and elsewhere. Yet the British, though fascinated by the seductive beauty of its garden architecture, were not prepared to let Dig escape the confines of their system of classification. They could not acknowledge the buildings of Dig as simply representative of the regional style of eighteenth-century North India, where the Mughal imprint, in culture and administration alike, remained powerful even as newly independent dynasties, like the Jats, secured their predominance and elaborated their own architecture. Here, as elsewhere, all buildings had to be either "Hindu" or "Mahomedan."

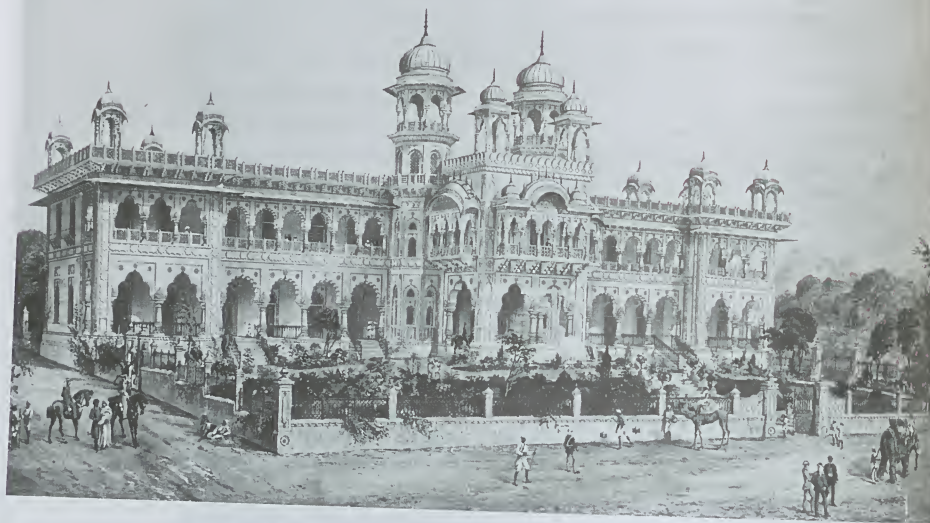
For Lord Mayo, as indeed for Temple, despite the fact that it "borrowed some of its ideas from the Mohammedans," Dig remained Hindu. Together with their avoidance in the design of the "domes, the towers, and the lofty arches of Mahomedan art," it was sufficient that the Jat rajas were themselves Hindu in religious affiliation.³² Cunningham, on the other hand, saw matters differently. In his view, to be properly Hindu a building had to conform to certain stylistic principles which the archaeologist, who had studied the whole of India's past, was alone competent to delineate. Expressed most fully in the early Hindu temples, these principles set a standard by which all subsequent architecture could be measured. Structures that deviated from them, even if built by Hindu rulers such as the rajas of Dig, could not be included among the "true Hindoo"

styles of architecture, and hence could not be taken as a model for British building in a "Hindu" land such as Rajasthan.

The viceroy, by now Lord Northbrook (1872–76), acknowledged that "on the question of what is, and what is not, purely Hindoo in architecture," he could not question the opinion of "so high an authority as General Cunningham." Nevertheless, he pointed out, there was "no doubt that in modern times the Hindoos have borrowed much from the beauties of the Mussulman architecture," and there was therefore no reason why such a "mixed" style should not be adopted in the Mayo College design. While lavishing praise upon Gordon's design—one secretariat official called it "exceedingly pleasing" and "thoroughly Hindoo in style"—the Indian government decided still to start afresh. Above all, they were determined to take care "not to go beyond the tastes of the Rajpootana Princes" in introducing "Saracenic" architectural forms. So Gordon was instructed to go out on tour once again, but this time "to see for yourself what you can of modern buildings constructed by Hindoos in Rajputana," and to consult with the princes and local political officers.³³ He returned with the startling news that the princes "would object to any Hindoo design," together with a recommendation from the agent to the governor-general in Rajputana that a new design "on a European model" be secured by a public competition.³⁴

Undaunted, Northbrook turned at this point for inspiration to the work of Major Mant, who had just completed, in the high school at Kolhapur (1873), his first Indic-styled structure (fig. 13). In early 1873 the hapless Gordon was dismissed, and an assistant engineer, R. Joscelyne, was instructed to adapt the Kolhapur design to the requirements of the Mayo College. Joscelyne submitted two schemes, one a direct copy of the Kolhapur school design, the other inspired by it. Both were judged unsatisfactory, so early in 1875 Northbrook commissioned Mant to draft an original design of his own.³⁵ The first was rejected as too costly, but his revised design, approved by the incoming viceroy, Lord Lytton, was unveiled in January 1877 at the first meeting of the College Council, held on the occasion of the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi. Construction commenced six months later, and the building was finally completed in 1885 at a cost of Rs. 3,80,000—a full lakh of rupees beyond the amount originally sanctioned.³⁶

Surely the most striking feature of this extended controversy, as one looks back on it, was the Indian government's enduring commitment, once Mayo had abandoned his "Grecian" scheme, to a mixed, or "Hindu-



13. High school, Kolhapur (1873). Reproduced by courtesy of the British Architectural Library, RIBA, London.

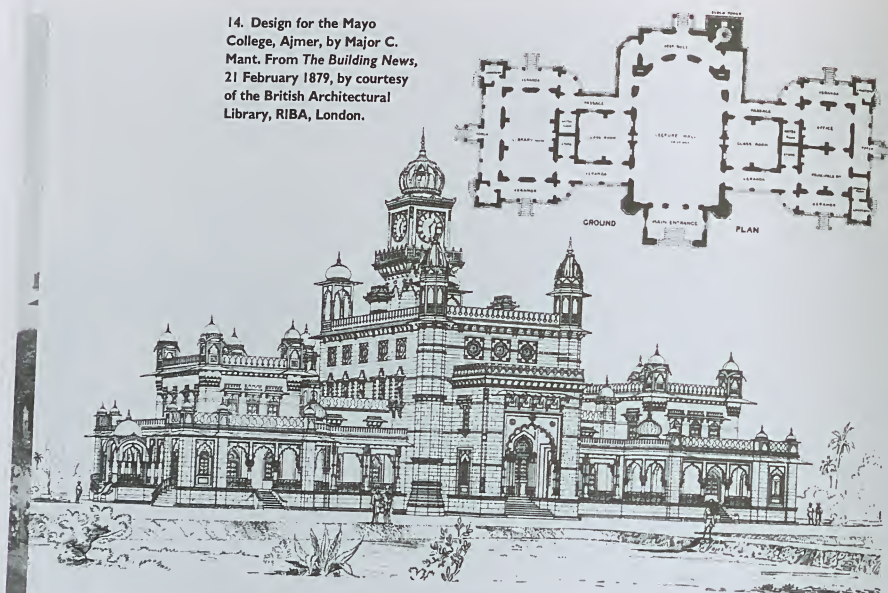
Saracenic," design. Why, in the face of objections both from its archaeological expert and, in a different direction, from the princes, did the government insist upon the adoption of this style of architecture? What does it tell us about the nature of British colonialism in India? Mant himself, in support of his design, argued that the "fusion" of "Hindu and Mahomedan" forms that had grown up in Rajasthan was "admirably suited" alike to the demands of the climate and of modern building, harmonized "with the traditions of the people," and had indeed been "unanimously adopted" by the princes themselves for their own palaces and other buildings. Sensitive to Cunningham's criticism, Mant insisted further that "great care has been taken, in preparing this design, to use only such Mohomedan features and forms as the Hindus of Rajputana have themselves universally adopted and in using them, to subordinate them to

Hindu feeling and treatment, and to so supplement them by purely Hindu forms and details, that the whole building may be almost literally described, as being an adaptation of modern Hindu domestic architecture, and therefore thoroughly suitable, as far as architectural style is concerned for a College in which the sons of Rajput Chiefs and Nobles are to be educated."³⁷

This statement breathes a sense of mastery and self-confidence not far removed from that of Cunningham. Mant knew what a "purely Hindu" form consisted of; he knew which "Mohamedan" forms the Rajputs had customarily employed; and he knew how to "blend" them so as to create a structure appropriate for the needs of a college. To reject such a style in favor of one, as Gordon tartly remarked, "almost unused" for modern building, made little sense. Indeed, to have followed Cunningham's advice, as Northbrook and Mant alike realized, would have been to be more Hindu than the Hindus, for the rajas of Dig were by no means exceptional in drawing upon varied elements, reflecting the fashion or "taste" of the times, for their buildings without regard to the religious convictions of those who might first have used them. In labeling Dig "Hindu," Mayo at least acknowledged that "Hindu" architecture was not forever immutable.

Mant's self-assurance, like Cunningham's, carried with it the assumption that the British had now mastered, and so could turn to their own purposes, India's architectural heritage. Northbrook, in announcing his preference for Gordon's over Cunningham's "Hindu" design, said that he did so "as a matter of taste."³⁸ Yet more than aesthetic considerations were involved. Unlike the "pure Hindu" style, the "mixed" Indo-Saracenic ideally suited the British vision of their colonial role in India. By drawing together and then melding forms distinctly labeled "Hindu" and "Saracenic," the British saw themselves, the self-proclaimed masters of India's culture, as shaping a harmony the Indians alone, communally divided, could not achieve. The Mayo College design visibly represented this conception (fig. 14). Although Mant endeavored to draw the bulk of its stylistic features from Rajput building, the plan nevertheless found room for a wide array of design elements. It included, among others, plain and cusped arches drawn from later Mughal work, so-called Bengali, or "drooping," *chattris* (porticoes) of the same period, small domed entrance porches, an overhanging *chajja*, or eave, of pre-Mughal style, cupolas of varied forms at the angles, and two octagonal minarets, introduced at the front angle, terminating at the roof level in "cupolas

14. Design for the Mayo College, Ajmer, by Major C. Mant. From *The Building News*, 21 February 1879, by courtesy of the British Architectural Library, RIBA, London.



crowned by the well-known Hindu 'sikra' domes." Above the whole soared a clock tower ninety-four feet high, whose significance will be examined presently.³⁹

But why, one must still ask, did the government reject, with so little hesitation, when it was the princes' own preference, the classical design Mayo had first proposed? In large measure, of course, this decision followed inevitably from the objectives that had shaped the development of Indo-Saracenic design, and the work of Mant and Chisholm alike, in the first place. But there were further specific reasons that impelled the British to insist upon an Indic design for the Mayo College. The college was, after all, meant for the use of the princes of Rajputana. These princes, though now incorporated as feudatories within the British imperial system, still embodied some of India's most ancient ruling dynasties; most had been incorporated centuries before into the Mughal system. Hence, in themselves they personified that link with India's past that the British sought, as they erected Indic-styled buildings, to gain for their own Raj.

Indeed, as the princes, by the later nineteenth century, became increasingly creatures of the colonial order, and yet at the same time repre-

sented for the British the notion of India as an enduring "traditional" society that lay at the heart of the late-Victorian conception of empire, it was all the more essential that these men define their rulership in terms derived from India's past and mark out visibly in architecture their position as the leaders of such a "traditional" order. Though the princes on their part might wish to enhance their own self-esteem by surrounding themselves with the architectural styles of their colonial masters, insofar as they defined themselves as "traditional" rulers—and they had of course no other claim upon legitimacy—the clothing of structures meant for their use in a "traditional" Indian idiom could only enhance their kingly role. They were in the end confined by the assumptions which alone gave validity to their rule.⁴⁰ It was unthinkable for the "Indian Eton," set down in the middle of the Rajasthan desert, despite its playing fields and its boarding houses, to take the shape of a Grecian temple.

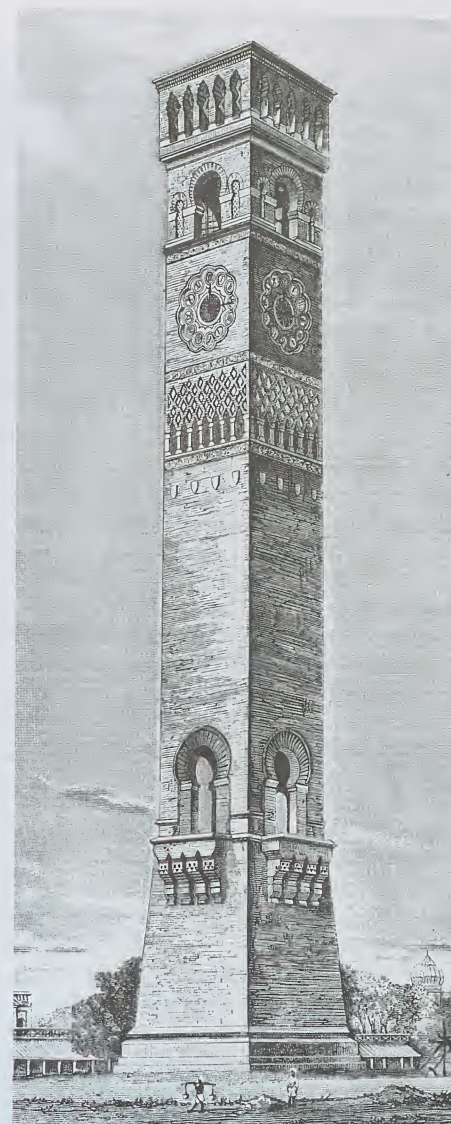
A "Modern" Architecture: Indo-Saracenic Building, 1875–1905

Illustrating the design for the Mayo College, still under construction, the *Building News* announced that, unlike his predecessors who adopted classical or Gothic styles, Mant had "boldly taken the indigenous ancient style" and yet had produced a building both "suitable and essentially modern." Sir Richard Temple, in his eulogy of Mant at the Royal Institute of British Architects, put the same point more forcefully. You may ask, he said, why, "if the native architecture is so extremely good we should not follow it absolutely—follow it pure and simple—in our Anglo-Indian structures." There was, he continued, "this particular reason: If you are to construct buildings which are perfect in respect of utility and convenience, then you must call in the aid of European science." The distinguishing merit of Major Mant's architectural designs was that, whereas "some of his architectural and artistic predecessors transplanted European styles bodily into India . . . he tried instead to hit on some style which should unite the usefulness of the scientific European designs together with the beauty, taste, grandeur and sublimity of the native style; and this style he called the Hindu-Saracenic."⁴¹ At no time was Indo-Saracenic design ever conceived of as an exercise in antiquarianism. Central to its conception was always a combination of "European science" and "native art," of "traditional" forms and "modern" functions.

In the Mayo College design by far the "most prominent feature" was its clock tower. Ornatly decorated, this tower had, as Mant described it, a "richly moulded and slightly spreading base, and is taken up as a square to the height of 22 feet from the ground. From this point it is chamfered off to an octagonal shaft, which is taken up to a height of 58 feet, corbelling out again at this height to the square . . . ; above the corbelling bold stone brackets support a narrow projecting balcony with perforated stone railings, above which rises the square clock chamber (with marble angle-shafts), terminating in a richly corbelled cornice, above which a gilded iron dome of ornamental design, and pierced open arcading, crowns the tower, and provides a shelter for the bell (or gongs) of the clock below." Mant further placed the tower "at an angle and off the center of the building to obtain a picturesque effect" and to take the place of a massive central feature such as a dome.⁴² (See plate 8.)

The tower was, however, by no means purely ornamental. The Public Works secretary, unimpressed with the design, told Mant that the tower "is not only not quite consistent with the rest of the building but also gives it a lopsided effect," and so should be eliminated. Mant vigorously protested that to omit the tower would "make the design somewhat tame and commonplace in its grouping, and wanting in spirit and picturesque character." In the end the government gave way. The tower, one official noted, "certainly is inconsistent, but as the rest of the design is by no means a pure style, and is a resultant of the combination of two or more styles, I do not think the addition of another style in the tower is objectionable, rather it is advantageous, as marking a further transition and the commencement of a new era."⁴³

In what way does the Mayo College tower mark the "commencement of a new era"? Mant does not tell us, but the political symbolism of such a tower is clear enough. The clock tower, tolling the hours, frequently attached to the town hall, was a common feature of the urban landscape of Victorian Britain. Nor were towers unknown in precolonial India. For the most part, however, like the Qutb Minar, set up by the first Muslim conquerors of Delhi in about 1200, they told of conquest, not the hour. From the 1860s onward the British erected clock towers, very often free standing, in the major cities of India. Delhi obtained one some 110 feet high opposite the town hall in Chandni Chowk, at the expense of the municipality, as one of the first "improvements" in the city following the devastation of the 1857 rising.⁴⁴ In Lucknow the British induced the



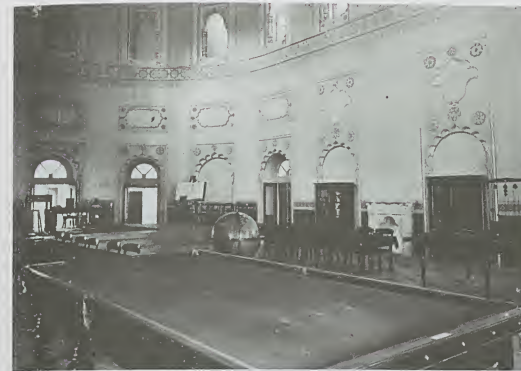
15. Huseinabad Clock Tower, Lucknow. From *The Builder*, 1 August 1885.

trustees of the Huseinabad Endowment, a Shia charitable body established by the former rulers of Oudh, to meet the cost of a soaring tower some 221 feet in height adjacent to the burial ground of the nawab Mohammed Ali Shah (fig. 15).⁴⁵ Set down in the two principal centers of the revolt, these structures can hardly be regarded as other than latter-day Qutb Minars, to mark out the presence of a new conqueror in the land.

Colleges were always especially favored with towers. At the Muir College, Allahabad, the architect William Emerson determined a "large bell tower was wanted" to complete his "Saracenic" design, and secured some ten thousand pounds from the munificent maharaja of Vizianagram to construct the 200-foot tower that looms over the college's halls and domes.⁴⁶ Whatever their origin, these towers were never simply decorative. It takes, for instance, little imagination to see in the open iron dome which caps the Mayo College tower a symbolic representation of the British Crown: the Raj triumphant! The clock too, of course, had a powerful symbolic significance as an element of the "new era." The British had always railed against the laziness and lethargy of their Indian subjects. With its hourly gongs chiming far above their heads, the clock helped to remind students and passersby not only of the supremacy of the Raj but of the virtues of punctuality. The modern world in India, as it had been for the peasant-become-factory-worker in Britain a century before, was to be marked by discipline and orderliness.⁴⁷

The crown surmounting the Mayo College was distinctive of the "new era" in yet another way: it was made of iron, forged in a British foundry. So too did the interior structure incorporate the latest technology. In the roofs, Mant wrote, "full advantage has been taken of the capabilities of cement concrete, which is to be used in flat slabs not exceeding twelve feet in span; spans of this size being obtained by throwing arches across the rooms, where possible, without interfering with their practical usefulness, and elsewhere (as in the main entrance porch and lecture hall) by provision of iron girders."⁴⁸ However much its "skin" might be an ornate Indic design in marble, the Indo-Saracenic building never eschewed the latest advances in European structural engineering.

The interior layout of the college, with its lecture halls and teaching rooms, represented of course the modern world the British sought to bring to the princes (fig. 16). Yet here too Indian symbolic forms were prominently displayed. The main lecture hall, for instance, decorated throughout with richly carved paneling, had placed in its ceiling two



16. Mayo College lecture hall, c. 1910. Photograph courtesy of the Mayo College, Ajmer.

large flat lights of colored glass, one "a conventional representation of the sun, and the other one of the moon, the mystical sources from which the chief Rajpoot Dynasties claim to have sprung."⁴⁹ (See plate 9.) Beneath these "lights" the boys studied their geography lessons, or even, as the photograph indicates, played billiards! On the playing field as well, "modern" and "traditional" forms were joined, as the college cricketers played before an elegant Indo-Saracenic-styled spectators' pavilion.

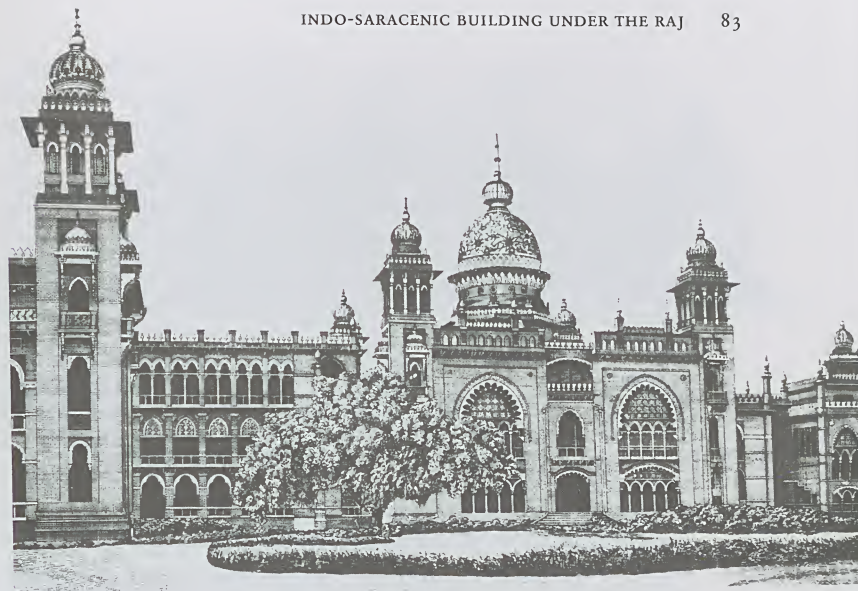
Clearly, a college of Indo-Saracenic design visibly embodied the assumptions of the colonial order. The building's facade defined for the Indians their past, while the curriculum—based on European learning—laid out for them their future. All was in place, and all was decided by the colonial ruler according to British definitions of appropriate behavior. In similar fashion, museums almost invariably were housed in Indo-Saracenic-styled structures. One of the earliest and most spectacular was the Albert Hall in Jaipur; at the beginning of the new century the spacious Prince of Wales Museum in Bombay, which incorporated detailing from the fifteenth-century kingdom of Gujerat, and the Victoria Memorial Hall in Madras, carefully modeled on Akbar's Fatehpur Sikri, provided the principal exhibition halls for those presidency capitals.⁵⁰ In each case, as a museum by its very nature was a showcase of India's past

as organized and classified by its colonial rulers for the benefit of its peoples, an Indo-Saracenic-styled structure—whose architectural forms reflected precisely the same enterprise—was altogether appropriate. (See plate 10.)

Buildings erected under the British Raj, wrote Emerson in 1884, “for any purpose connected with the natives, whether for administration, education or charity, should show a distinct British character, at the same time adopting the details and feeling of the native architecture, and suiting it to the particular requirements of the case.” The Public Works member of the Viceroy’s Council was more specific. “There can be little doubt,” he wrote in 1877, “that buildings for native purposes, such as the following, should be built in some style of native architecture: temples, mosques, palaces, colleges, schools, markets, hospitals, asylums: whilst those specially for the comfort and wants of Europeans, such as residences, churches, offices, railway buildings, etc, are more appropriate for some European style adapted to the various climates of India.”⁵¹ But the matter was not so simple as that. As a colonial regime, the British had obviously no intention of constructing mosques or temples; nor, for reasons we shall examine presently, were Europeans comfortable when confronted with the prospect of Indic-styled churches. Still, increasingly, from the 1880s onward, British builders in India came to terms with Indo-Saracenic design for a wide array of public buildings.

Madras provides, once again, perhaps the best example of an innovative use of Indo-Saracenic styles for modern building. Chisholm’s Revenue Board and Post Office were but the first of a host of imposing structures that dominate the Madras skyline to the present day. His successors as consulting architect to government, J. W. Brasington and, after his death, H. C. Irwin (1841–1922), continued without hesitation down the path Chisholm had blazed. The setting for much of this work was the sea-front marina, a broad boulevard constructed in the early 1880s, which at once linked and displayed the various public buildings erected along it: from the University and Chepauk in the south to the Law Courts, State Bank, and Post Office to the north.

By far the most impressive of these structures were the Law Courts (1889–92). Begun by Brasington and completed by Irwin, the Courts, though inspired perhaps in their layout by the vast Gothic Law Courts erected twenty years before in London, developed, with an exuberant enthusiasm, the architectural forms of Chisholm’s earlier work (fig. 17). Like its predecessors, but on a much grander scale, the Courts



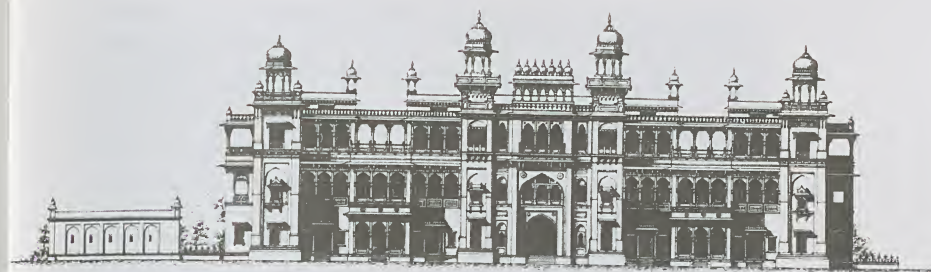
17. Madras Law Courts. From *Indian Engineering*, 7 September 1895.

were faced with large arches extending from floor to ceiling; these were “borrowed from the designs of the Pathan buildings of the 15th century, where they were used in domed mosques, and were intended to throw light into the highest recesses of the domes, and to shew their beautiful ornaments, as well to light the other parts of the main hall.” These arches, wrote *Indian Engineering*, “give grace and grandeur to the design, as well as allow of a thorough and complete ventilation.” Complementing the arches were a number of towers with domes and canopied balconies, and in the recesses a series of small colonnades running up three stories; behind were arcaded verandahs and open stairways that gave access to the various courts and offices within. Over the whole structure soared a bulbous domed minaret, 175 feet high, its upper stage forming a lighthouse equipped with a dioptic light to guide ships toward the nearby harbor. The building cost the exceptionally large sum of thirteen lakhs of rupees. Two years later (1894), on an adjacent site, in the same architectural style, Irwin erected buildings for the Law College.⁵²

Irwin subsequently designed a new building for the Bank of Madras (1896–99), described by *Indian Engineering* as “an adaptation of Hindu-Saracenic freely treated, the details of the various ornaments being after approved specimens of existing buildings in the north” (fig. 18). The most prominent feature of the design was its twin towers, each consisting of a “dome surmounted by a lantern carried by eight stone pillars and surmounted by a smaller dome terminating in a stone finial.”⁵³ Irwin’s Egmore Railway Station (designed 1902, built 1905–8) boasted “a Mogul style of architecture,” with “intricate stone carvings, fantastic-shaped brackets, drip stones, and rich friezes” that “at once attract the attention of any observer to the excellence of the structure from the architectural point of view.”⁵⁴ His final work in Madras, designed in 1906 after his retirement, was the Victoria Memorial Hall (fig. 19). The hall, constructed in red sandstone, was unusual for its coherent use of features derived wholly from one model, the “buildings erected by the Mogul Emperors at Fatehpur Sikri.”⁵⁵

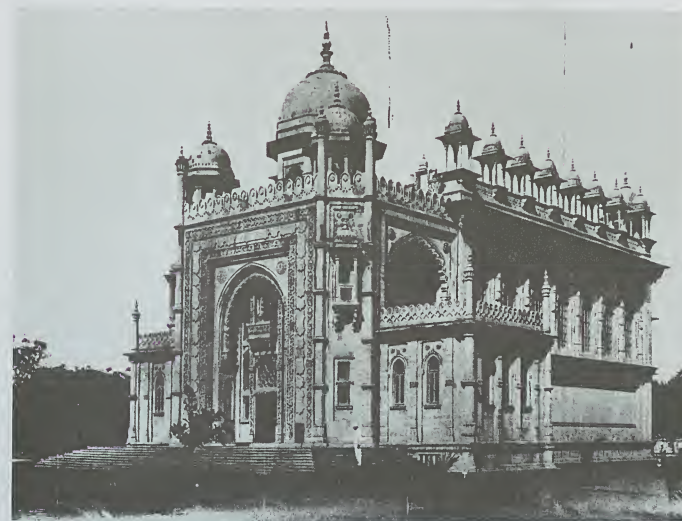
These buildings all, as *Indian Engineering* wrote of the Egmore Station, stand out as “Indo-Saracenic structure[s] erected on modern lines.”⁵⁶ They were, after all, as their builders fully recognized, intended for the novel purposes of the Raj—for education, railway communications, finance, and the like—and they embodied in their construction the latest technological advances. But they were modern as well in a way the British rarely appreciated: in their use of Indic design elements. For the most part the British conceived of themselves as participants in the ongoing traditions of Indian design. James Ransome, consulting architect to the Government of India, in 1905 discussed, for instance, without any sense of incongruity, the Mughal tomb of Salim Chishti at Fatehpur Sikri (c. 1580) and the Albert Hall Museum at Jaipur (1880) as being representative samples of “Saracenic work.”⁵⁷ Indeed, the very use of the term “Indo (or Hindu)-Saracenic” by the British to describe their own building, as well as that which had gone before, carried with it the implication that their structures were but the latest in a long line of buildings constructed in a similar style.

The British nevertheless manipulated Indian design elements in new ways—never conceived of by the Mughals or the rajas of Dig—as they set out to represent their own empire as Indian. With such rare exceptions as the Victoria Memorial in Madras, British builders made no attempt to be faithful to the style of any particular period of India’s past.



18. Bank of Madras, now State Bank of India. 1895
Competition prize design by Swinton Jacob. The major

elements of the facade were incorporated into Irwin's final design as built. From *Indian Engineering*, 4 April 1896.



19. Victoria Memorial Hall, now National Art Gallery, designed by H. Irwin in the style of Fatehpur Sikri.

Photograph from *Annual Report on Architectural Work in India for the Year 1909–1910*.

Chisholm himself indeed disparaged such an enterprise. The British architect in India, he said, "may choose the comparatively easy archeological road, copying piecemeal and wholesale structures of the past, or he may endeavour to master the spirit which produced such works, and select, reject, and modify the forms to suit the altered conditions."⁵⁸ As the profusion of design elements in such structures as the Mayo College makes clear, one of the greatest attractions of the Indo-Saracenic style for the British was the freedom it offered to "mix and match" elements of design. This sense of "mastery" was at once informed by and helped shape a distinct European perspective on India's past. According to this conception, a product of nineteenth-century Orientalism, India's society was unchanging, traditional, in a word "Oriental"; hence the elements of its architecture were, at the deepest level, similar and interchangeable.⁵⁹ Once mastered, they were available for any purpose the colonial builder considered appropriate. None needed to be taken seriously within its own historical context. His eye trained by the Orientalist discourse in Europe, the colonial builder could never approach India's past as other than an outsider; for him its forms represented, not the elements of an ongoing tradition of building within which he worked, but colors on a palette from which he could pick and choose to create the image he desired: of an efficient order imposed on a backward and divided society.

James Fergusson, as we have seen, had begun the extended process of ordering, labeling, and classifying India's historic architecture. As the British grew more familiar with Indian forms, and sought to use them in practical ways, they required more immediately useful reference guides than Fergusson's wordy text. In 1890 this need was fulfilled with the publication of the *Jeyapore Portfolio of Architectural Details*, six massive volumes containing no less than 375 plates of architectural drawings. The author was Swinton Jacob (1841–1917), executive engineer for the Jaipur state. A graduate of the East India Company's college at Addiscombe and member of the Bombay Artillery, Jacob served for five years as a field engineer in Aden (1861–66) before taking up his position in Jaipur, where he remained for some forty-five years, until his final retirement to England in 1912 at the age of seventy-one. While in the service of the maharaja as engineer and architect (work which will be examined later), Jacob began, initially in his leisure time, to employ students from the Jaipur Art School to copy the ornamentation on the palaces, tombs, and other ancient structures in the neighborhood. "It next occurred to him,"

wrote J. Burgess of the Archeological Survey in reviewing the *Portfolio*, "that from the beautiful buildings at Delhi, Amber, and other cities not very distant from Jaipur, a much larger and most useful collection of these details might readily be copied and arranged for reference." Many of these "details," which comprised measured drawings and impressions or casts transferred to paper, were subsequently reproduced, together with many others, in the volumes of the *Portfolio*.⁶⁰

The organization of these six volumes provides a revealing insight into the way the British made use of India's historic architecture for their own building. As Jacob explained in the preface, his objective was to produce a "collection of architectural details in such a shape as would be of *practical* use to the architect and artizan." Hence the volumes were not put together either chronologically or by region of origin, nor were the "details" illustrated presented so as to illuminate the structures of which they were a part. Instead they were arranged topically: one volume contained copings and plinths; the second, capitals; the third, brackets; the next, arches; and so on. Each sheet loose, the different varieties of each detail could thus "be compared and selections readily made." The intending designer, that is, could choose as he wished from among these "working drawings"—a plinth from this historic building, an arch from another—and so take full advantage of features "so full of vigour, so graceful and so true in outline." As an example Jacob cited his own use of raised patterns from the tomb of Shaikh Jamali (d. 1535) near Delhi, reproduced in the *Portfolio* volume on arches, to decorate the recesses of the walls in the Albert Hall, changing only the coloring from the red and blue of the tomb to white on a light-green ground. The effect, he said proudly, "is exceedingly good, and is an instance of the way in which these beautiful designs can be utilised for decoration in modern buildings."⁶¹

Which ancient structures, one might ask, did Jacob regard as most suitable for modern reproduction? His selection in the *Portfolio* was obviously limited by his location in Jaipur, but he nevertheless reached out to include a range of structures from the twelfth to the eighteenth century, and from Delhi to Ahmedabad. Although most of the prominent buildings of northern India are included, Delhi, Agra, and Fatehpur Sikri between them supplied nearly half the total number of illustrations, and the old Jaipur capital of Amber, with the eighteenth-century city of Jaipur, about one-third. (Of the volume on doors, for instance, sixty of

sixty-six plates were drawn from Amber alone.) The remaining illustrations were taken largely from other Rajput sites, primarily Alwar, Kota, and Chitor. Surprisingly, only four plates illustrate the Taj Mahal, and Dig appears on only three. In an assessment of the work, most striking perhaps is its focus upon the great monuments of Delhi and Agra, and yet the calculated avoidance of the greatest and most famous of them all. Clearly, the British, though eager to claim kinship with India's Islamic rulers, remained always reluctant to measure their own buildings by the opulent standards of the Taj. Similarly, for all the praise lavished upon it, Dig, outside the major centers of power and influence, provided little to inspire British designers. Delhi and Agra, visited annually by thousands and representing as no other cities could the majesty of empire in India, inevitably supplied the British builder with the richest source of stylistic elements.

The indiscriminate mixing of elements from a variety of sources that informed Jacob's *Portfolio* was not confined solely to British building in India. Indeed, the Indo-Saracenic enterprise drew upon, and gained sustenance from, similar, though not identical, currents of architectural eclecticism at home. Jacob's *Portfolio* was by no means the only Victorian "pattern book" of design elements. Owen Jones's *Grammar of Ornament*, published in 1868, illustrated designs from cultures around the world, while other volumes, more limited in scope, made available patterns from Gothic, Renaissance, and classical architecture for the Victorian builder. This eclecticism of design was part of, and itself nourished, the nineteenth-century search for the "picturesque." Intimately connected to the Romantic movement, which cherished individual expressiveness and sought to free design from the rigidities of Enlightenment neoclassicism, the notion of the "picturesque" shaped much Victorian taste.⁶² In India, where the British lived surrounded by the "exotic" and unfamiliar, the cult of the "picturesque," as we have seen, powerfully reinforced the British appropriation of India's landscape and its historic architecture. Much of the attraction, indeed, of remote and ruined cities, such as Mandu, was to be found in their "picturesque" situation. In the space of a few pages in his *History*, for example, Fergusson praised the "fairy-like" setting, amid hills and lakes, of medieval palaces from Udaipur and Bundi to Orcha and Amber. They were, he wrote, "seldom designed with much reference to architectural symmetry, but they are nevertheless always picturesque and generally the most ornamental objects in the landscape where they are found."⁶³

Victorian builders at home, as they sought to create a sense of the "picturesque," almost never incorporated Indian design elements in their work. The sole exception was where they sought to evoke an image of the exotic and the sensual. Their eclecticism remained otherwise confined within the traditions of Western architecture, which alone they found aesthetically appealing and within which they could work comfortably. In India, however, architects were open to a wide range of influences. Emerson described how, in designing the Muir College, Allahabad, he "determined not to follow too closely Indian art, but to avail myself of an Egyptian phase of Moslem architecture, and work it up with the Indian Saracenic style of Beejapore and the north-west, confining the whole in a western Gothic design" (fig. 20). The "beautiful lines" of the Taj Mahal,



20. Muir College, Allahabad, designed by W. Emerson. Reproduced by courtesy of the

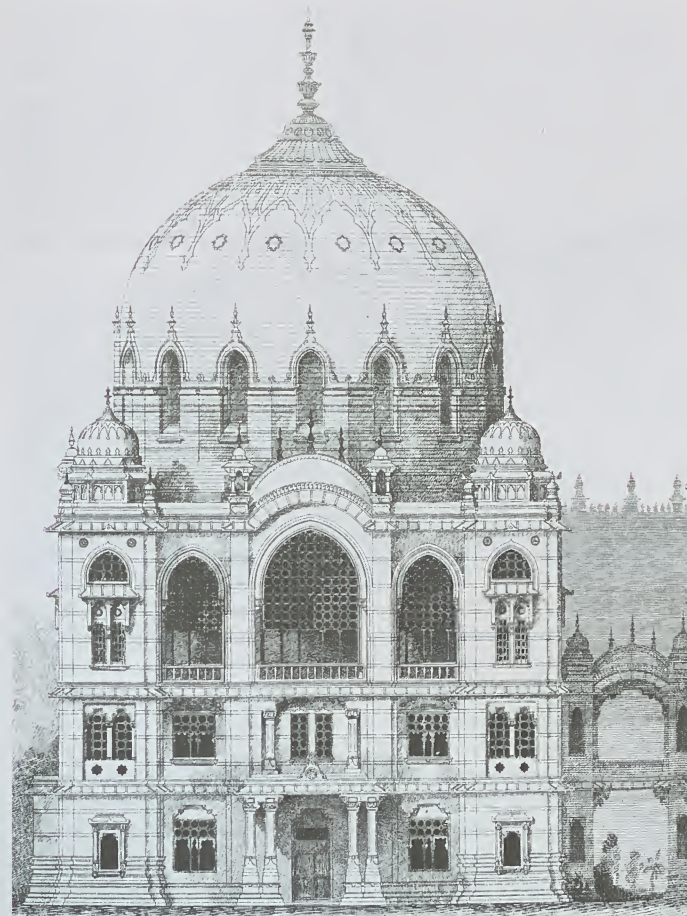
British Architectural Library, RIBA, London.

he continued, "influenced me in my dome over the hall, and the Indian four centered arch suggested itself as convenient for my purpose," while the details "show how the Gothic tracery is blended with the Indian geometrical perforated stonework in the windows, and the Caireen Moucharabyeh wood-work; Gothic shafts and caps are united with Indian arches; and the domes stand on Gothicized Mohammedan pendentives and semi-circular arches." Though European elements were excluded, Mant too, as we have seen, sought in his design for the Mayo College, above all by the placement of the tower, to insure that the structure would possess a "varied outline" and thus present a "picturesque appearance." Interestingly, Saracenic forms were *not* used in India to create an idea of the sensual, for here important issues were at stake. In the "East," the "East" could not be exotic.⁶⁴

Contemporary British taste, with its penchant for the "picturesque" in architecture, thus reinforced the appeal of the eclectic Indo-Saracenic design. Indian builders in the Indo-Saracenic style, though they secured but little support in England for such "exotic" designs, did not have to defy British aesthetic ideals outright. Nor did they have to confront boldly the uncomfortable fact that this architecture had its origin in, and in turn made manifest in stone, the late-nineteenth-century imperial enterprise. An architecture of colonialism, the Indo-Saracenic was also a "modern," even a Victorian, architecture that incorporated in its design much of the "taste" of the times.

"Stubbornly Gothic": India's Metropolis and the Indian Church

In 1888 the burgeoning city of Bombay held an open competition for the design of new municipal offices. Elaborating upon the ideas he had developed during his years in Madras, Chisholm submitted a design in what he called "Hindu of a very pure type," adding only "such Mahomedan forms as expediency demanded in positions duly sanctioned by usage" (fig. 21). An ornate structure in a trabeate style, with four levels of arcaded verandah, free-standing *chattris* adorning the roof line, and a massive dome standing apart to one side, Chisholm's design won the first prize in the competition.⁶⁵ But it was never to take shape in stone. The Bombay Corporation gave the commission instead to F. W. Stevens

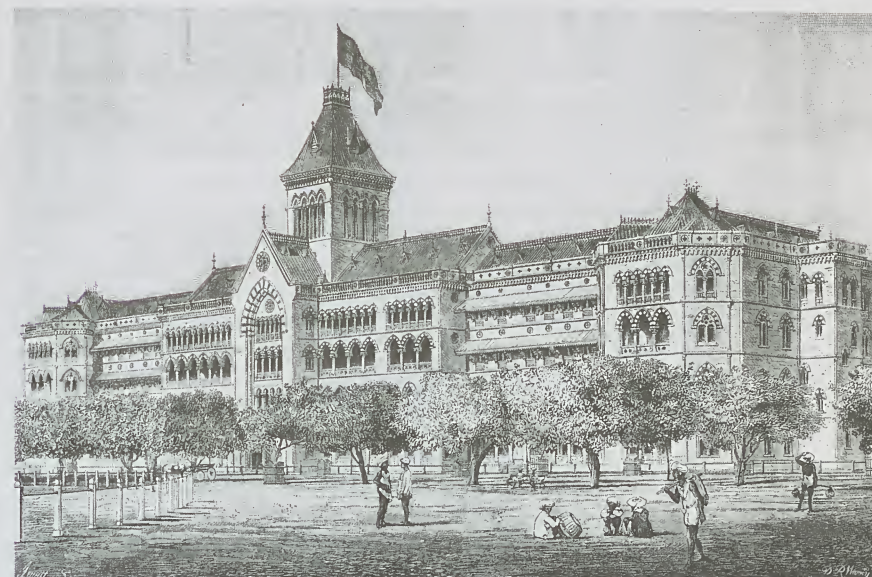


21. Bombay municipal offices design (not built) submitted by R. F. Chisholm. From *The Builder*, 3 November 1888.

(1847–1900), a local Bombay builder who had just completed the extravagantly Gothic Victoria Terminus railway station. Nor was this decision surprising, for Bombay, as the architectural historian Gavin Stamp has written, throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century “consistently followed Gothic Revival precedents.” No city, even in Great Britain, Stamp wrote, “can boast such a remarkable concentration of Victorian Gothic Revival public buildings” as Bombay. So early as 1880, indeed, a correspondent in the *Builder* was already complaining “of the fearful overdone Gothic architecture in our Bombay buildings,” which “should be a warning to all architects.”⁶⁶

Why did Indo-Saracenic architecture not flourish in Bombay, India’s Victorian metropolis, whose years of spectacular growth, from the great cotton boom of the 1860s to the end of the century, coincided with the elaboration of British building in an Indian style? To be sure, as we shall see, Indian features were not wholly absent in Bombay’s architecture, especially in the years after 1890. Indeed, Stevens’s own design for the municipal offices, described by the *Building News* as “a free treatment of Early Gothic with an Oriental feeling,” included cusped window arches, corner domes, and a lofty central tower surmounted by a massive dome.⁶⁷ Still, as Mant and Chisholm, in cities as nearby as Kolhapur and Baroda, were formulating the principles of Indo-Saracenic design during the 1860s and 1870s, Bombay remained scrupulously aloof from their influence. Without exception, the city’s major civic structures, some designed by such well-known English architects as Sir Gilbert Scott, took their inspiration from the contemporary Gothic revival in England, above all from the designs submitted for the 1866 Law Courts competition in London.

The first major building to be erected, immediately following the American Civil War boom, was H. St. Clair Wilkins’s Secretariat (1867–74) (fig. 22); this was followed by his Public Works Offices (1869–72).⁶⁸ Next were the Post and Telegraph Offices (1871–74), medieval Italian Gothic in inspiration, while the vast Law Courts (1871–78), in a severe Early English style, reflected Street’s successful design for the London courts. Situated between the Secretariat and the Law Courts was the University Hall (1869–74), designed by Scott, boasting a semicircular apse and a rose window in the French decorated style of the fifteenth century. The nearby Library was distinguished by its striking open spiral staircases and soaring Rajabhai Clock Tower (1878), 260 feet high, modeled



22. Bombay Secretariat, designed by H. St. Clair Wilkins. From *The Builder*, 20 November 1875.

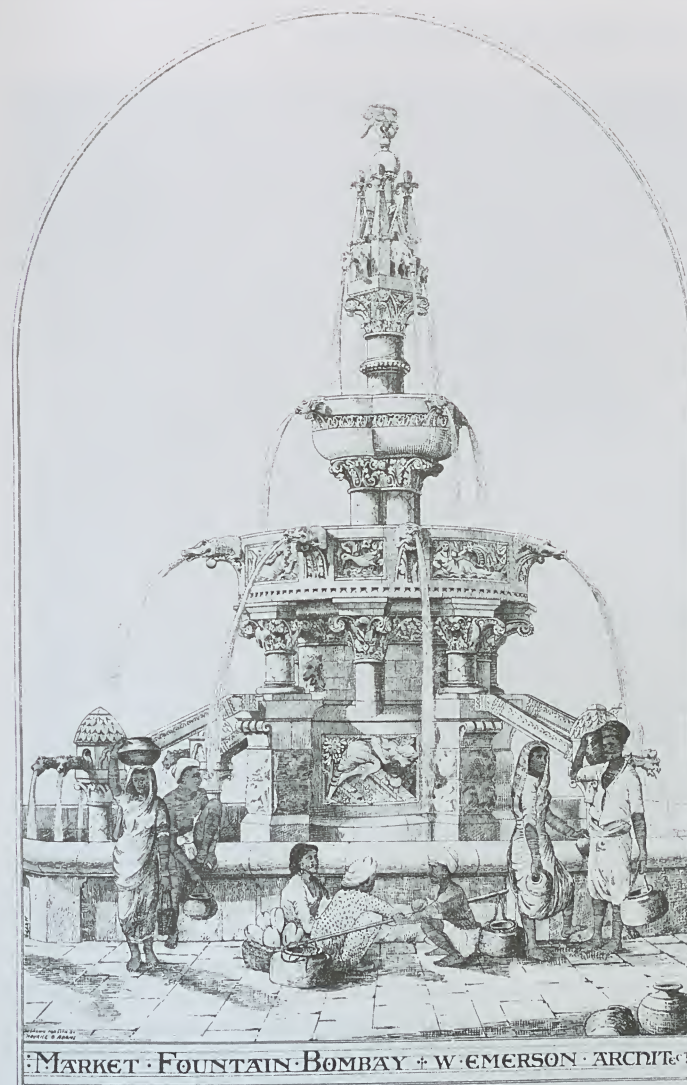
by Scott after Giotto’s campanile at Florence. Most spectacular, however, was Stevens’s Victoria Terminus (1878–87). The largest building constructed by the British in India up to that time, this station found inspiration in Scott’s St. Pancras Station, London; yet its massive masonry dome and exuberant Italian Gothic detailing, in polychromatic stone, decorated tile, marble, and stained glass, gave it a distinctive character of its own. The Victoria Terminus at once made Stevens’s reputation and forever stamped Bombay as preeminently a Gothic city.

Though these structures, in their architectural style, all turn their back on India, they do make some concessions to the city’s Indian setting. Almost all incorporate open staircases and galleries, balconies, and verandahs to secure shade with a maximum circulation of air. Several

too, among them Wilkins's Secretariat buildings, adopted a Venetian style of Gothic. With its polychromatic texture and open arcading, the Venetian appealed to observers as the most "Oriental" of Gothic styles, and hence, as *Indian Engineering* wrote, the "best adapted for the climate of Bombay."⁶⁹ Many of these buildings, as well, accommodated detailing representing Indian scenes. The Crawford Market (1867), designed by the young William Emerson, set the first example. Modeled in part after a twelfth-century stable at Cardiff Castle, the building is distinguished by its bas-reliefs by John Lockwood Kipling, in semicircular arches over the entrance, depicting scenes of Indian rural life. Recently appointed professor of architectural sculpture at the Bombay School of Art, Kipling, the father of the poet, further decorated a fountain in the center of the market with sculptures representing "the spirits of the four rivers of India," together with aquatic animals and plants (fig. 23).⁷⁰ Kipling's Indian students subsequently created decorative carving for a number of the major Bombay buildings. Most notable perhaps was the Victoria Terminus. Although the major sculptured groups, such as the fourteen-foot-high statue of "Progress" over the central dome, together with the British lion and Indian tiger at the entrance gate, were designed in London by Thomas Earp, the surface ornament and carved details, modeled on local flowers, plants, and animals, were "beautifully carved by native workmen under the direct supervision of Mr. Stevens, who considers the quality of the work to be quite equal to anything of the kind in Europe."⁷¹ None of these details, of course, altered the essentially Gothic character of the building's architectural style.

Stevens's 1888 design for the municipal buildings inaugurated an era of cautious incorporation of Indo-Saracenic features within Bombay's continuing Gothic architectural tradition. During the 1890s Stevens himself designed a second railway station, a rival of his own Victoria Terminus, for the Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Railway. Incorporating administrative offices for the company, this station, described as "early Gothic with an Oriental feeling," had as its centerpiece a central domed tower, 160 feet high, "rising from amidst the many dazzling white domes" that defined the roof line of the building's projecting wings and clustered about the main tower. As with his municipal offices, the domes were primarily responsible for the "Oriental" feeling of the structure.⁷²

After Stevens's death in 1900 John Begg (1866–1937), as consulting architect to the provincial government, erected a new Indo-Saracenic post office for Bombay. Begg took as his inspiration the architecture of



23. Crawford Market fountain, Bombay, designed by W. Emerson with decorative detail

by Lockwood Kipling. From *The Building News*, 27 November 1874, by courtesy of

the British Architectural Library, RIBA, London.

Bijapur, where, he said, "the best of the old work is to be found." The decision was applauded by the *Building News*, which called the Bijapur style, to which the British had long been drawn, "the most remarkable to be found in India for virility, boldness of conception, and adaptability to modern uses."⁷³ The Prince of Wales Museum (1908–14), however, with the ceremonial Gateway of India, both designed by George Wittet (1880–1926), Begg's successor as government architect, marked out the high point of Indo-Saracenic building in Bombay (fig. 24). As we have seen, museums were commonly regarded as exceptionally suited to an Indo-Saracenic architectural style. So it is not surprising that Bombay's was constructed along similar lines. The building was nevertheless distinctive in bringing together, under a monumental tiled concrete dome, elements at once of Begg's Bijapur design for the post office and the architecture of fifteenth-century Ahmedabad. In this way Wittet endeavored to represent the joining together under the Raj of Gujarat and Maharashtra, the two linguistic regions that made up the Bombay presidency. His subsequent design for the Gateway of India, to mark the spot where the king-emperor, George V, with Queen Mary, had first stepped ashore in India in 1911, sought also to incorporate in its design elements of the architecture of Ahmedabad.⁷⁴

Clearly, apart from these designs by Begg and Wittet, both at the very end of the era of its predominance in British Indian building, Indo-Saracenic design had almost no impact on the architecture of Bombay. At best, as the *Times of India* wrote of Stevens, the city's architects sought a "blending of Venetian Gothic with Indian Saracenic."⁷⁵ The causes of this indifference are not at once obvious. Bombay's situation itself surely played a major role. Facing toward Europe on the west coast of India and, especially after the 1869 opening of the Suez Canal, the chief port for India's trade with Europe, Bombay sought to define itself as to some degree a European city, a trading and commercial city, not as a city that marked out Britain's rule over India's alien peoples. Hence it clothed itself appropriately in European architectural forms. Bombay may have been, as the city's motto proudly proclaimed from the facade of Stevens's municipal buildings, *Urbs Prima in Indis*; but it looked outward and, as one foreign visitor wrote, conceived of itself as "the connecting link between Europe and Asia, the point where two civilizations meet and mingle."⁷⁶

Bombay was exceptional too, for later-nineteenth-century India, in possessing a wealthy and civic-minded Indian mercantile elite. Many



24. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, designed by G. Wittet. Photograph taken during the First World War while the museum, still under

construction, was used as a hospital. Courtesy British Architectural Library, RIBA, London.

of the city's major structures were financed either wholly or in part by the contributions of Indian philanthropists. The University Hall, for instance, was funded by Sir Cowasjee Jahangir, while the Library and Clock Tower owed their existence to the banker Premchand Roychand, who named the tower in memory of his mother, Rajabhai. Significantly, a substantial number of these wealthy benefactors were Parsis, or even,

with David Sassoon, Baghdadi Jews. As members of tiny minorities, they conceived of themselves to some extent as outsiders in India and so, while they took advantage of Bombay's commercial opportunities, allied themselves closely with the country's rulers. As they adopted an anglicized style of life, so too did they, not surprisingly, patronize European styles of architecture. In some degree like India's princes, whom we will examine later, these urban merchants sought to appear "modern," not only by gaining fluency in the English language and manners, but by surrounding themselves with the architectural styles of contemporary Europe. Not just the British, but the city's Indian residents as well, made of Bombay a Gothic city.

If Bombay's builders were indifferent to Indo-Saracenic design, India's church architects were actively hostile. Like other public buildings of the same era, Indian churches in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as we have seen, followed contemporary English Georgian styles and took as their model St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Trafalgar Square. By the 1840s, under the influence of A. W. Pugin and the "ecclesiologists" (as they called themselves), Gothic had become accepted as the only appropriate style for church architecture. Not only did it express the ideals of the Romantic movement and of Britain's own past, but, more important, for the ecclesiologists Gothic alone authentically represented a Christian society. Even in Calcutta, with its deeply set traditions of classical design, the cathedral (1847) was constructed in a Gothic mode, while Bombay, at the same time, well before the ebullient building of the boom years, saw the erection of the Afghan Memorial Church (1847-58), an ecclesiologically "correct" structure in Early English named in honor of those who fell in the First Afghan War (1840).

The ecclesiologists were, in principle, willing to accept the use of Italian styles for hot climates, and some Indian churches in mid-century took up such forms in a manner similar to Bombay's adoption of Venetian Gothic for secular building. After all, even such enthusiasts for European design as T. Roger Smith had urged the employment in India of those European styles which had "grown up in sunshiny regions," including among them "the Renaissance and Gothic of Southern Italy or Spain, or the early Gothic of Southern France."⁷⁷ In time, nevertheless, the conventions that governed church architecture became so rigid that it was inconceivable to build an ecclesiastical structure in other than a properly English Gothic style. Emerson's cathedral in Allahabad (1871-87), though barely half a mile distant from his "Saracenic" Muir College, was strictly

Gothic, based on the thirteenth-century choir of Canterbury Cathedral. Indeed, far from modeling the cathedral on the college, Emerson found in the proximity of the cathedral reason for refraining from "a rigorous adherence to the Saracenic style" in the college design.⁷⁸

Similar considerations shaped the design of churches throughout India, even those of Indo-Saracenic architects. Chisholm, for instance, designed a cathedral for Rangoon (1886) in an Early English style, while Swinton Jacob erected Jaipur's Anglican church (1875) in a variation of the same English style. Despite his own study of Indo-Saracenic design, Jacob wrote, the church must be "in keeping with a style, with which all our feelings of devotion are associated." The only modifications he would allow were those dictated by a concern for comfort in a hot climate: a high nave with windows protected by projecting sunshades; placement of the apse windows well above the ground to avoid "inconvenience" from the sun at early morning services; and a flat ceiling with hooks to which a row of punkahs (fans) could be attached. Similarly, in his Rangoon design Chisholm incorporated deep buttressing, with the buttresses arched together and roofed in "to form the shade so essential in a tropical climate."⁷⁹ Indian design elements were rare and confined to decorative detail. The Allahabad cathedral, for instance, filled the apse openings with perforated stone in geometrical patterns from Fatehpur Sikri, while the Jaipur church used polished local marble of varied colors in the font and for the shafts of the pillars supporting the nave arches. The Lahore cathedral, designed by Gilbert Scott's son Oldrid in an English Decorated style, rather exceptionally avoided the use of human figures in the apse windows for fear of offending Muslim inquirers.⁸⁰

Any attempt to introduce elements of Indo-Saracenic design into a church at once provoked a fury of controversy. As early as 1846 a proposed Islamic design for the English church at Alexandria in Egypt had stirred the *Ecclesiologist*, the journal of the Gothic group, to outrage. "To build a Christian church in a land where a false religion is predominant, and Christianity trampled down," they wrote, "in the style of that false religion, for the sake of flattering the followers of that religion, is more than a solecism of taste, it is a gratuitous . . . bruise to our religious feeling."⁸¹ Feelings in India were no less passionate. Nevertheless, one British officer, F. S. Growse, an enthusiast for Indian arts, sought to stem the tide. During the 1870s Growse was posted as collector in the north Indian district of Mathura. The district town, adjacent to the sacred Hindu shrine of Brindaban, was graced, after its consecration in 1856, by

an elegant Anglican church, in an Italian Renaissance style of architecture, for the use of the garrison. There was, however, no Catholic church. As a Catholic, Growse determined not only to build a church but to construct it in what he considered an appropriate architectural style. He secured some Rs. 13,000 in subscriptions from local residents, European and Indian alike, and the use of the plot of ground adjoining the Anglicans' structure. Growse laid out the ground plan and general proportions of his church, "in accordance with ordinary Gothic precedent," but then set out to make the rest of the building "purely Oriental in design" (fig. 25). The carving in the tympanum of the doorways, the tracery in the windows, the cusped arch in front of the altar, the kiosks set along the roof, were all, he wrote, "favourable specimens of native art." He had further intended, so he said, to model the dome itself on the *shikra*, or spire, of a Hindu temple at Brindaban. Saying that he feared arousing "clerical prejudice," Growse claimed that he "eventually altered it into a



25. Catholic Church of the Sacred Heart, Mathura. From F. S. Growse, *Mathura: A District Memoir*.

dome of the Russian type, which also is distinctly of Eastern origin and therefore so far in keeping with the rest of the building." As with every compromise, he sighed, "it fails of being entirely satisfactory."⁸² Yet the dome remains *shikra*-like, not Orthodox, in its outline, so that his description may well itself have been contrived to disarm his opponents. (See plate 11.) In any case, with a dome that evokes nearby Brindaban, its mosque-like kiosks, and elaborate surface decoration imposed upon a Western-styled structure, Growse's Church of the Sacred Heart, bustling today with an active Catholic congregation, remains one of the most colorful and inventive Indo-Saracenic-styled structures to be found in India.

Growse took great pride in his church. Anyone who saw the building, he pointed out, would "immediately understand that it was a Catholic Church, built in an eastern country for the use of a mixed congregation of Europeans and orientals." As such it pointed the way toward an ecclesiastical architecture that blended "oriental and western ideas" in a way "both nationalities could appreciate." From its example would follow spontaneously, he insisted, the "combination of dome and spire." As testimony to his success, despite his anger at being peremptorily transferred out of the district before the project was finished, Growse reprinted, in his history of Mathura, one newspaper's comparison of his "labour of love" on the church with the work of the Abbé Dubois and Francis Xavier. Like them, it said, he "sought the empire of the mind through the empire of the heart."⁸³

The construction of the Mathura church, however, did nothing to allay popular hostility toward a style of ecclesiastical architecture that "mixed" Indian and European forms. For some critics the solution appeared to lie, as Growse himself had suggested in his revised plan for the dome, in the use of a Byzantine style of architecture. This was the theme of a protest raised against the Madras Y.M.C.A., built in 1899 in a style consistent with the Indo-Saracenic-styled Law College opposite. An outraged correspondent asked *Indian Engineering* why "the authorities of this Christian Institute have ordered their architect to design this building in Heathen Architecture? It may have been so designed on the same principle that the Teetotal Preacher has a drunken man beside him, to emphasize the hideousness of the crime." Surely, the writer went on, "there are plenty of Oriental Christian edifices, in and around Armenia, of Byzantine Oriental type, which would have carried out that great and first principle of Architecture, I mean 'Fitness', better than the absurd caricature it

now presents.”⁸⁴ Some thirty years before, as we have seen, Lord Napier, in his lectures on architecture, had argued that an architectural style at once “Christian and Oriental,” and hence appropriate for ecclesiastical building, could be found in Byzantine architecture. This style, he said, was “the first Christian style, nor has Christianity formed a finer since.” Clearly, the use of Byzantine forms would, in some degree, have placated alike those who opposed a rigid adherence to Gothic, for whom one “Oriental” style could be conceived of as equivalent to another, as well as those who objected to the introduction of indigenous “heathen” styles.⁸⁵ Yet no churches of this design were put up in Victorian India.

Most intense perhaps was the controversy that surrounded the Cambridge Mission’s decision to erect their college at Delhi, named for St. Stephen and designed by Swinton Jacob, in a “Moghul” style of architecture (fig. 26). *Indian Engineering* itself doubted whether that would “make the task of converting the ‘Moghuls’ of Delhi into Christians any easier,” while the journal was flooded with angry letters. “Englishmen are accustomed,” wrote one self-righteous correspondent under the pseudonym GOTH, “to see their religious edifices bear a distinguishing stamp, and surely the members of an ecclesiastical society should have been the strongest advocates of this principle.” Another, while admitting that “a certain amount of fusion between our own ecclesiastical styles and what is purest in local art might add to the distinctiveness of the building and be emblematic of that universal brotherhood which is one of the aims of Christianity,” still insisted that “I cannot but regard as fatal the idea of

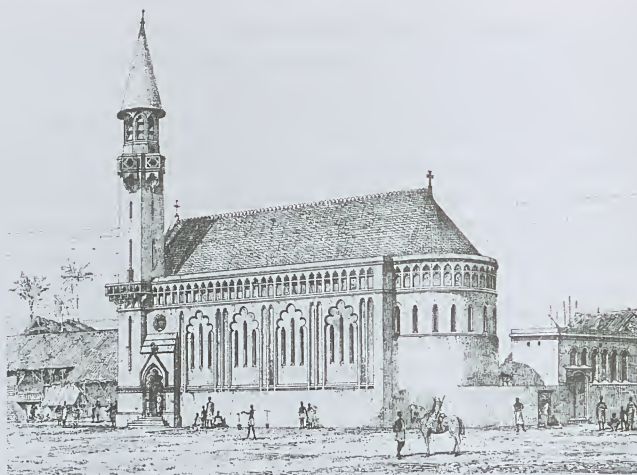


26. St. Stephen's College, Delhi, designed by Swinton Jacob. From *Indian Engineering*, 11 October 1890.

carrying on Christian teaching in a building entirely surrounded with symbols, suggestions and associations which are opposed to Christianity.”⁸⁶

The Cambridge Brotherhood, a group whose members were convinced that Christianity could find an authentic expression in Indian culture, nevertheless stood firm. S. S. Allnutt, the college principal, defended his decision by an appeal to the abiding principles of the Christian faith. In art as in all else, he wrote, Christianity “has always been able to claim all that is ‘lovely and of good report’ wherever she finds it, and then after refining, if need be, any elements of a grosser or more sensuous character, to make the adopted forms her own, capable of expressing in and through the borrowed and transfigured forms the characteristic ideas of her faith and life.” “I can conceive,” he continued, “no nobler task for the Christian architect in this country than after patient sympathetic and accurate study of the best periods of Indian architecture, both Hindu and Mahomedan, to endeavour to fashion out of the models he has studied, new forms, not slavishly imitative of the old, but adapted to meet the needs of Christian worship and life.”⁸⁷

The Cambridge brothers still represented only a small minority of English opinion, and St. Stephen's College was of course, in any case, not a church but a college, for which Indo-Saracenic architecture had long been regarded as appropriate. As the architect W. N. Pogson wrote from Madras during the controversy, although government buildings ought “proudly and truthfully to mark our sojourn in the country,” if “you are called upon to design a Hindu Church or College, for the sole use of Christian Hindus, mark in brick and stone their nationality . . . but adapt it as much as lies in your power to Christian uses.”⁸⁸ Of Indo-Saracenic-styled churches, apart from Growse's and the exceptional conversion into a church of one of the ancient monuments of Bijapur, there would appear in India to be none. In East Africa alone were to be found a few that incorporated “Moorish” elements. Of these the most prominent was Christ Church Cathedral, Zanzibar (1873–79), constructed by the Universities' Mission to Central Africa on the site of the old slave market (fig. 27). With a tall, minaret-like spire and narrow slitted windows ending in cusped arches, the structure sought to blend Gothic and indigenous forms in order to appeal to the Arab residents of this island in terms they might understand. Together with the similarly styled and domed Mombasa church (1901–4), several hundred miles north along the same coast, the Zanzibar cathedral stood forth as representing an exceptional strategy for the evangelization of the Muslim peoples under British rule.⁸⁹



27. Christ Church Cathedral,
Zanzibar. From *The Builder*, 28
May 1881.

In practice, then, the church, despite its evangelical aims, could not conceive of Christianity as other than a European faith meant to be housed in European structures. India's burgeoning metropolis of Bombay likewise viewed itself as to some degree European in its commercial outlook, and hence appropriately to be represented in contemporary European garb. Elsewhere, however, as a new era of imperialism flourished in Britain, and India's conquerors sought to control its subject peoples more fully, they set out to assert their own legitimacy by proclaiming themselves an Indian empire. This intention an Indo-Saracenic-styled architecture at once made visible for all to see, and itself sustained.

Princes, Palaces, and Saracenic Design

As junior partners in the imperial enterprise, accorded a secure place within Britain's Raj, the princes of India played a central role in its later-nineteenth-century political culture. Some of these men were descendants of ancient dynasties, rooted in the invasions of the early medieval era; others were upstarts, who had come to power in the eighteenth century in the wake of the decline of the Mughal Empire; still others were put in place by the British themselves as they sought to consolidate their power. Yet by the mid-nineteenth century, carefully ranked and ordered, and watched over by political agents posted at their courts, all alike exercised power only by courtesy of their colonial overlord. Their territories encompassed nearly two-fifths of the subcontinent, and they were for the most part left free to rule their states themselves. They were nevertheless confined to the maintenance of internal law and order and the collection of taxes. They could not wage war nor seek to enlarge their domains. They remained always aware, above all, that as princes on sufferance they could not afford to defy their colonial masters on any issue the latter defined as being of some consequence. As a result they devoted much of their energy to flamboyant assertions of ritual sovereignty and extravagant contests for symbolic precedence.

The princes of the Raj thus in no sense embodied some unchanging "traditional" India. Yet the British were drawn to these men, and secured them in power, precisely because they saw in the princes a source of legitimacy derived from ties of deference and authority located outside the structure of the British colonial state. To some extent, of course, British

support enhanced if it did not create this legitimacy. Nevertheless, especially after the upheaval of 1857, the British sought out those whom they believed to possess a "traditional" authority. As they elaborated the rituals that defined the India of the queen-empress, on such occasions as the Imperial Assemblage of 1877, they accorded the princes a place at its very heart. From 1858 till the end of the Raj, although the occasional prince was deposed, no state ever suffered the penalty of extinction that had befallen so many in the years before the Mutiny. Yet reliance upon their "traditional" authority did not mean that the princes were to be left alone to exercise power in some "traditional" manner. Under the Raj, they were expected to be, as they had never been before, rulers at once "traditional" and "modern," rooted in the past yet participants in the creation of a new India.

As the British considered appropriate architectural styles for princely building, they turned, not surprisingly, to the Indo-Saracenic. In that architecture, as we have seen, the British sought to incorporate their view of India's past into their own building, and so represent Britain's Raj as legitimately Indian, while at the same time constructing a modern India of railways, colleges, and law courts. This architectural style was, in the British view, equally well suited for princely building. With its presumed blending of "traditional" and "modern" elements, the Indo-Saracenic exactly fitted their conception of the princes' role within the India of the Raj. Like this architectural style, the princes were meant to embody at once India's past and a vision of its future.

The primary focus of concern was the princely palace. For princely ruler and Englishman alike, the palace symbolized political authority. Its architectural style was the visible manifestation of the relationships of power that linked the prince to his British overlords and to his subjects within his state. The incorporation of the princes into the Raj never took the form simply of military coercion. The appearance and layout of a palace, though seemingly a matter only of aesthetics, was as much charged with political content as the decisions taken within it. Hence its design mattered a great deal. Always, as the princes in the prosperous years after the Mutiny built new palaces, the British sought to complement the political agent at the court with "appropriate" architectural forms.

The princes were not helpless when confronted with this aesthetic imperialism, nor were they without resources of their own. The British dared not undercut princely sovereignty by "ordering" these men to put

up palaces of any particular sort, while the princes' ability to maneuver, in the face of the British preference for Indo-Saracenic, was substantially enhanced by the existence in India of two well-established alternate building styles: what we may call the artisanal, and the Europeanate or European-derived. Each of these styles had its princely adherents. Each too, however, from the British perspective, was seriously flawed. This chapter will first examine how the British tried to shape princely building in the later decades of the nineteenth century, and then assess the varying ways several of the major princes responded to this architectural coercion.

Early Building: Hill Fort and Classical Palace

For centuries before the coming of the British, princely building had been determined primarily by considerations of defense, with palaces, rather like medieval European castles, crowded onto fortified hilltops. These buildings, with the residences and shops that clustered about them, reflected long-established patterns of design and construction and employed skilled artisans and craftsman-builders. For the most part, in some degree because of their cramped sites, these palaces did not conform to a regular design plan, but rather grew haphazardly as succeeding princes added wings and rooms to suit their needs. In the later Mughal period, responding to the more settled condition of the times, some princes began to construct spacious but still fortified residences in the plains. By far the most well known is Sawai Jai Singh's Jaipur (1727), enclosed by a twenty-foot-high wall and further sheltered by the encircling desert hills, but methodically designed and laid out on a grid pattern, with the City Palace at its center. The airy garden pavilions of the rajas of Dig, constructed some thirty years later around a series of courtyards and tanks, similarly reflected the appeal of the garden architecture of the Mughals and announced a shift, if not in the style of building, then in the layout and placement of princely palaces.¹

The old palace forts appealed to the British sense of the romantic and the picturesque, and helped shape their conception of the Rajputs especially as a people with a heroic past. "Overhanging the stern and lofty ramparts," wrote the architectural historian Percy Brown, their "fanciful pavilions" were "emblematic of the old-world traditions of their race for

chivalry and high adventure, for lore and legend, each incident being reflected in the imaginative manipulation of casement and embrasure, lattice and oriel, as every stone is touched with the spirit of romance."² More ominously, these palaces, with their "labyrinths of rooms . . . reached by dark and narrow corridors, dimly lit yet glittering with glass and gold," evoked the "intrigue and luxury so dear to the Oriental mind" (fig. 28). As Rudyard Kipling wrote, after a visit to the sixteenth-century fort at Amber, "the cramped and darkened rooms, the narrow smooth-walled passages with recesses where a man might wait for his enemy unseen, the maze of ascending and descending stairs leading nowhither, the ever-present screens of marble tracery that may hide or reveal so much,—all these things breathe of plot and counter-plot, league and intrigue."³



28. Interior rooms, old palace, Bikaner. From *Types of Modern Indian Buildings* (1913).

The British knew of course of the spacious cities of Jaipur and Dig—Kipling even chided the "good people of America" for pretending to invent the rectangular town plan with "huge streets straight as an arrow, sixty yards broad" that Jai Singh had devised in the 1720s—but they preferred to see only the "mazy labyrinths" of the cramped hilltop fort. Willfully ignoring the distinctive features of Jaipur and Dig, for instance, Percy Brown even included them in a list of medieval palaces, which he described as "extensive and irregular congeries of buildings," steeped in "that atmosphere of seclusion and mystery which pervaded the palace life of the time." Such a partial vision was not accidental. Whatever the Rajput palace might actually be like, for the British the hilltop fort represented the way these princes, as Oriental monarchs, must inevitably live. The architecture, indeed, helped to make those who lived in these buildings what they were. As Kipling wrote, though with a certain skepticism, "If, as Viollet-le-Duc tells us to believe, a building reflects the character of its inhabitants, it must be impossible for one reared in an Eastern palace to think straightly or speak freely or—but here the annals of Rajputana contradict the theory—to act openly."⁴

Alike as a fort and as "labyrinth" the hilltop palace threatened the ordered security the Raj sought to impose on princely India. The military threat was perhaps the least consequential. More important, this abode of darkness and mystery by its very nature sustained a set of values that were inconsistent with British rule. Even the experienced Kipling found his position as a visitor in a "living palace where the sight-seer knows and feels that there are human beings everywhere, and that he is followed by scores of unseen eyes . . . almost unendurable." Only as a deserted ruin given over to tourists did the old palace for Kipling cease to be threatening. "In a dead palace—a cemetery of loves and hatreds done with hundreds of years ago, and of plottings that had for their end, though the greybeards who plotted knew it not, the coming of the British tourist with guide-book and sun-hat—oppression gives place to simply impertinent curiosity."⁵ What the British did not understand, and so could not control, they first defined as a "labyrinth" and then endeavored to do away with.

Rational motives were of course assigned for the change. In the old days, wrote Lepel Griffin, agent to the governor-general for Central India, what was needed "was that the palace should afford protection against attack from without and privacy to a very large female popula-

tion within. The first of these requirements exists no longer and the second," Griffin added with more of wishful thinking than of hard evidence, was rapidly losing its force, as chiefs became "content with one wife and do not need the hundred rooms and mazy labyrinths of an Oriental zenana." For those princes, Griffin continued, "whose minds have been enlightened by English training, the old, and it may be, picturesque designs of native palaces are odious. They cannot breathe in the confined rooms and narrow passages which were good enough for their fathers. They demand large well-ventilated rooms, light and air, wide staircases and imposing halls. Such conveniences find no place in the conventional designs of native architecture."⁶ Once incorporated in the new order of the Raj, in other words, with his values and expectations appropriately transformed, the prince would inevitably find his old palace as unsuited to the needs of the modern age as did the British themselves. There would be no need for architectural coercion.

During the years of East India Company rule, from the 1770s onward, many Indian princes sought to incorporate elements of European design in their building enterprises. The wealthy zamindars of Bengal, too, taking advantage of the security provided by British rule, erected exuberant neoclassical palaces in Calcutta and on their country estates.⁷ Such building, with the purchase of items of European furnishing and dress, represented an attempt by the Indian princes to identify themselves in some degree with a world whose superiority they saw confirmed by Britain's conquest of India. By far the most enthusiastic princely builders in this mode were the successive nawabs of Oudh, who from the time of Asaf-ud-daula in the 1770s until the dynasty was extinguished by the British takeover of the state in 1856 spread an array of neoclassical structures across the face of their capital at Lucknow. The construction of these buildings did not imply any desire to adopt an anglicized life-style. The rarely visited country houses, for example, were erected primarily for purposes of display. The buildings combined, often in imaginative ways, Indian and European architectural elements. Content to adopt whatever forms they found attractive, the nawabi architects had little interest in mastering the intricacies of the European classical orders. Not surprisingly, too, the introduction of European forms was often very superficial, involving no more than the addition of stucco decoration, for instance that of Corinthian pilasters, to an Indian wall. Still, in the great palace complexes—from Asaf-ud-daula's Macchi Bhavan through Saadat Ali Khan's Farhad Baksh (1803) to Wajid Ali Shah's Qaisarbagh (1850)—

the Lucknow nawabs created an architecture of striking originality and virtuosity. The two most recent students of the subject agree that these buildings, above all the Qaisarbagh, express a "genuine synthesis" of two "sharply opposed" cultural traditions, and that they represent the outcome of a process almost wholly "spontaneous, unself-conscious and indigenous" in its elaboration.⁸

British visitors to Lucknow, by contrast, had nothing but contempt for the city's architecture. Throughout a century and more their response uniformly mingled a sense of outrage with patronizing amusement at the absurdities of the nawabi builders. The later nawabi buildings, above all the Qaisarbagh, wrote Dr. A. Fuhrer, curator of the Lucknow Provincial Museum in 1891, were "the most debased examples of architecture to be found in India." All the "vulgarities which were applied in Vauxhall, Rosherville, and the Surrey Gardens," he argued, "took refuge in the Kaiser Bagh and Chatar Manzil when expelled from thence, as, for instance, Corinthian pilasters under Muslim domes, false venetian blinds, imitation marbles, pea-green mermaids sprawling over a blue sky under a yellow entablature, etc." This disparagement was not only, or even chiefly, aesthetic in nature. The very vehemence of the criticism in fact revealed its political objectives: to help the British convince themselves that the nawabs were utterly degenerate and so deserved their ultimate fate. As Fuhrer put it, "nowhere can we see more markedly the influence of a depraved oriental court and its politics upon art and architecture than in Lucknow."⁹

Despite this fierce disapproval, India's princes continued into the latter half of the nineteenth century to put up palaces of European design. By far the grandest was the Jai Vilas in Gwalior, erected by Jayaji Rao Sindhia on the occasion of the visit of the Prince of Wales in 1876. An immense pile standing outside the town beneath the sheer rock fortress that commands the road to central India, the building was designed by Sir Michael Filose, a member of a family of Italian origin with several generations' service in the Indian Army and long-standing ties to the Gwalior court. The building incorporated Doric, Tuscan, and Corinthian elements in an extensive facade of paired columns and Palladian windows, while its interior durbar hall boasted the largest glass chandeliers in the world.

Of necessity the British judged this structure less harshly than those of the erstwhile nawabs of Oudh. Sindhia had after all supported the Raj in 1857, despite the mutiny of his own troops; and the new palace at-

tempted none of the architectural innovations, at the expense of classical forms, that so annoyed the British in Lucknow. The Jai Vilas, Griffin proudly proclaimed, "is well fitted for all purposes of state and reception," and in its huge durbar hall "contains perhaps the finest and most beautifully proportioned drawing room in India." Yet the building was still not wholly satisfying. The problem was, of course, that it pretended to be what it was not: a proper European palace. The *Builder* dismissed its "apparent substantiality" as "merely a cloak for flimsiness," while an English visitor with a viceregal touring party condescendingly described it as "like a pantomime palace with its vast chandeliers, its glass fountain, glass banisters, glass furniture and lustre fringes." Though more suitable than the "narrow labyrinth of small and unventilated rooms" it replaced, the Jai Vilas, in Griffin's view, still lacked what a "worthy and beautiful" palace ought to contain: the union of "the modern conveniences of civilization and a truly Indian style of architecture."¹⁰ Neither the old hilltop fort nor the Europeanate palace, as the British saw it, adequately suited the needs of the late-nineteenth-century prince.

Mant, Chisholm, and the Indo-Saracenic Palace

During the 1870s, as the Jai Vilas palace was going up, British architects were developing the one style that in their view satisfactorily joined "the modern conveniences of civilization" with a "truly Indian style of architecture": the Indo-Saracenic. In princely as in British India three men—Major C. Mant, R. F. Chisholm, and Swinton Jacob—took the lead in elaborating the new style.

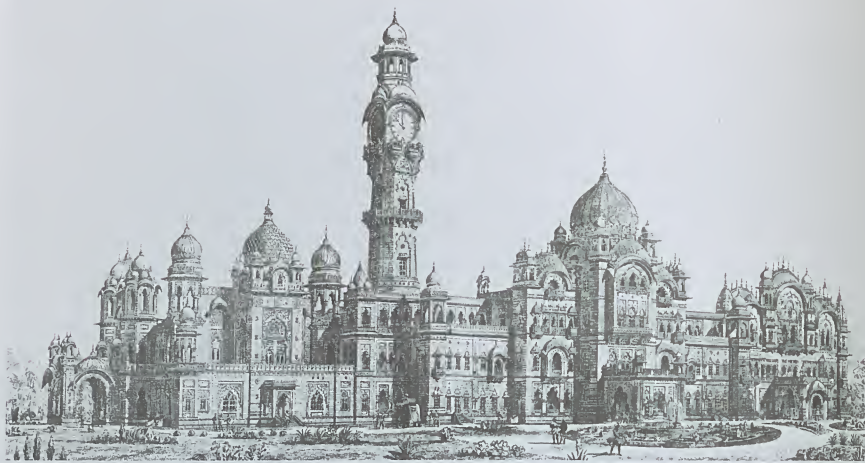
Mant's palaces in Kolhapur and Baroda inaugurated the self-conscious use of Indo-Saracenic forms in princely India. At the Mayo College, Ajmer, discussed above, he drew together Rajput and Mughal forms in a white marble structure dominated by a massive clock tower. His Kolhapur palace shared many of the same elements, above all the presence of a soaring clock tower. Yet in this palace, for the Maratha house descended from the famous seventeenth-century warrior-chieftain Shivaji, Mant sought so far as possible to incorporate architectural elements drawn from the region. In so doing he turned in part to the local temples of Kolhapur, but he derived inspiration as well from the Jat forts of Bharatpur and Mathura and the Jain temples of Ahmedabad, whose

multiple clustered domes mount the Kolhapur skyline. Although Mughal forms are conspicuously absent, still the use of Gujarati and northern Indian elements in a building meant to symbolize Shivaji's Maharashtra testifies to the enduring eclecticism of British Indo-Saracenic design.¹¹

The Lakshmi Vilas Palace in Baroda was built as the town residence of the Gaekwar Sayajirao III. As befitted one of the wealthiest princely families in India, it was immense in size. With a principal facade some 520 feet in length, the building covered a site of some 100,000 square feet, while, at a cost of some £180,000, it was, in the view of one observer, "probably the most costly structure erected by a private individual during the present century."¹² Its construction was not uneventful. In 1881, with only the general drawings completed and the building some six or seven feet above the foundations, Mant, then in England, became obsessed with the fear that the structure would eventually collapse. Unable because of heavy speculative losses to raise funds for an immediate return to India, in a fit of despair he took his own life.¹³ The foundations, it turned out, required but little alteration; and so the Gaekwar brought R. F. Chisholm from Madras to carry on the work along the lines laid down by Mant. The palace was finally completed in 1890.

Chisholm was in no doubt as to the appropriate style for a late-nineteenth-century palace. As he told the Royal Institute of British Architects in 1896, "It must be kept in view that the native Rajas and chiefs of India are passing through a transitional period; that an old palace like that at Ambur would be about as useless to the present Gaekwar of Baroda as to an ordinary English gentleman." The architect must therefore, he continued, "look well in advance, and, in planning, consider the future more than the present." This meant in practice, Chisholm wrote, following Mant, that one must "combine native details with the ordinary requirements of a modern palace and arrangements of rooms."¹⁴ Such an objective accorded perfectly, of course, with the larger aims of the Indo-Saracenic style, which sought, as Lepel Griffin wrote, "the adaptation of Oriental art to modern requirements."¹⁵

In the general layout Mant retained the traditional division of an Indian palace into three functionally specialized sections: the public reception rooms, the maharaja's quarters, and the *zanana*, or female quarters (fig. 29). But unlike such palaces as Amber or Bikaner where these sets of rooms were arranged, within enclosing walls, in a progression into the interior from the more to the less public, from the entrance gateway and



29. Lakshmi Vilas Palace, Baroda. Mant's original design, from *The Building News*, 28 October 1881. The durbar hall

is on the left, the maharaja's rooms in the center, and the women's quarters to the right. See also figures 30 and 31.



30. Lakshmi Vilas Palace, Baroda, as built. View of the west front, 1900. Note the

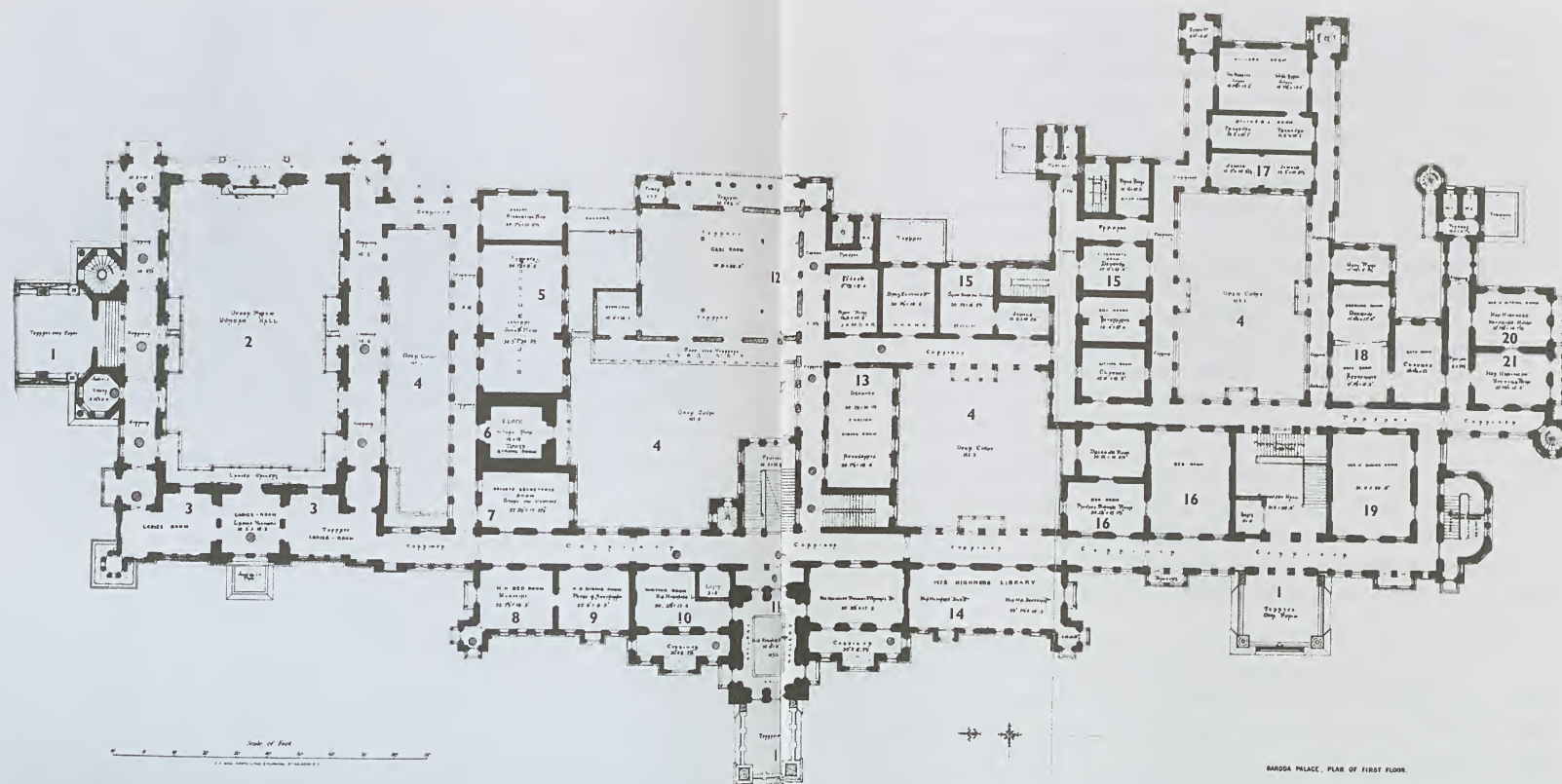
alteration of the tower and the removal of the clock. Photograph courtesy of the

British Library.

administrative offices through the audience hall to the raja's private apartments and finally to the inner recesses of the *zanana*, Mant with an eye to the architectural effect arrayed the three blocks, each with its own entrance portico, along the main axis of the building: the durbar hall at the north end, the Gaekwar's residence and those of his followers in the center, and the women's apartments at the south.¹⁶ Though the focus around a series of courtyards retained something of the sense of privacy of the older palaces, the building's isolated location in a park, visible from all directions, gave it the appearance as well of an English country house. This general layout was subsequently adopted in other palaces, for, as we shall see, it served admirably the needs of the "modern" prince.

In its exterior design the palace adopted, in Chisholm's words, "a late period of what Fergusson happily calls Hindoo-Saracenic [standing] about midway between the old red sandstone work at Agra and the marble work which succeeded it." Most of the detail, he wrote, "seems to have come from Bhurtpoor [Bharatpur]," though there was "in the working drawings especially a feeling of regard for the purer local Guzerati style." To some degree also, different elements predominated in each of the three sections of the building, with the maharaja's quarters emphasizing the martial forms of Bharatpur, the ceremonial wing adopting Mughalized domes and *chattris*, while the Gujerati "feeling becomes more marked . . . [toward] the south side, where local forms have been cleverly fused with the more florid art." Chisholm detected too "evidence of European feeling in much of the ornament and many of the forms. There is a thought of Venice in many of the arches, a more decided feeling of Gothic in others, and towards the south end of the building a distinct leaning to an earlier and somewhat purer type of art."¹⁷

In assessing the design Chisholm was aware that no precedent existed for such a mixed style in India's past, and that as a result it was to some degree the creation of a European Orientalist mentality. The forms were, he acknowledged, "antagonistic"; it was "not an easy thing" to fuse them and "at the same time avoid the grotesque." At the same time he liked Mant's treatment of the facade. Mant, he said, successfully avoided repetition, one of the "defects" of the Indo-Saracenic style to an English eye, above all by the "great variety of treatment" of the domes of the *zanana* face; yet he never sought "to attain variety at the expense of unity, and this is probably the highest praise that can be bestowed on any modern work." Even so, Chisholm remained troubled by the "structural



untruthfulness" he saw in all "late Hindoo-Saracenic" building. With the "fairylike" lightness and "marvellous" bold corbelling went a "concealment of effort, and concealment of the means by which effects are produced." Neither the palace dome, apparently carried on twelve corbels, nor the portico arch, seemingly carved from a solid block of stone, was what it appeared. From an engineering point of view such a "defect" could not be countenanced. Yet, he concluded, in defense of his own as much as of Mant's building, "the result, when achieved, produces that fragile look which seems a quality of simple loveliness."¹⁸ (See figs. 30 and 31.)

31. Lakshmi Vilas Palace, Baroda, plan of the first floor as constructed. Reproduced from *JRIBA*, 3rd ser., vol. 3 (1896), by courtesy of the British Architectural Library, RIBA, London.

Key to numbered rooms:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Entry porch | 12. Gadi [throne] room |
| 2. Durbar hall | 13. English dining room |
| 3. Ladies' rooms | 14. H. H. library |
| 4. Open court | 15. Attendants' rooms |
| 5. Billiard room | 16. Guest bedroom |
| 6. Guard room under clock tower | 17. Jewel room |
| 7. Private secretary's room | 18. Puja [worship] room |
| 8. His Highness's [H. H.] bedroom | 19. Her Highness's dining room |
| 9. H. H. dining room | 20. Her Highness's bedroom |
| 10. Waiting room | 21. Her Highness's sitting room |
| 11. H. H. sitting room | |

Chisholm himself made only one major structural alteration in Mant's Baroda palace design: he remodeled the tower and removed the clock. Less of an enthusiast than Mant for clock towers, Chisholm especially disliked the clock here because, he said, it would "give the building a public rather than a palatial appearance," while the chimes would be a nuisance to the occupants. "I know few things more unpleasant," he wrote with feeling, "during a hot and restless night than to hear every quarter of an hour of one's existence merrily but mockingly chimed away to eternity."¹⁹

While in Baroda, Chisholm took the occasion to design several buildings himself for the Gaekwar. In each of these, he sought, as with the palace, to "make native art and indigenous forms subservient to the conditions and requirements of the day." Most imposing, perhaps, was the Baroda College, which boasted a domed convocation hall. Placed on a square some sixty feet on a side, the dome was constructed without a center, following the model of the great dome of the Gol Gumbaz at Bijapur, a monument which, as we have seen earlier, especially fascinated the British.²⁰ A few years later, in 1889, he designed a museum for the Baroda public park. This design again featured a domed central hall, balanced on either side by rectangular exhibition halls. The facade was dressed with colonnades and friezes incorporating "elements of Hindoo architecture" which the *Builder* described as "picturesque in effect and expressing its purpose well."²¹

The British clearly had a sense of how Indo-Saracenic architectural forms ought to inform the design of a princely palace. But how far were such palaces creations of the British, forced upon unwilling rulers, and how far did they reflect some shared conception of an appropriate princely role in colonial India? How far, indeed, did the princes defy such architectural coercion? Such questions are exceptionally difficult to answer without research in the archives of individual princes. Certainly the British on their part took advantage of whatever opportunities came their way to encourage the construction of Indo-Saracenic palaces. While Regency Councils were not passive creatures of their British overlords, a princely minority offered, nevertheless, the best occasion for the British to bend a young ruler to their will. It is no coincidence that Mant's palaces at both Kolhapur and Baroda were erected during princely minorities, though at Baroda Mant's employment was sanctioned by the Indian diwan Sir T. Mahdava Rao, and the young maharaja assumed power in

time to oversee Chisholm's completion of the work.²² At Bikaner too a Regency Council took the initial decision in 1895 to erect a new palace for the young maharaja Ganga Singh. In constructing a new palace the princely guardians were moved above all by a desire to secure an appropriate environment for the more anglicized style of life they expected their carefully educated young charge to adopt when he assumed power. As the foreign secretary wrote in 1895 with regard to the proposed new palace at Bikaner: "The Maharaja at present resides in the fort. It is very hot, not particularly sanitary, and is situated in the middle of the town. The zenana lives there too. It is now proposed to build the Maharajah's residence outside the town, I believe, which will be healthier both physically and morally for the young Maharajah."²³

When princes came of age and took charge of their administration, they coped with the British pressure for an "appropriate" style of architecture in a variety of ways. It is not possible to link styles of princely building directly with region or caste, or even with the ruler's loyalty to the Raj. Individual taste and temperament, with perhaps the influence of British tutors, appear to have been decisive. Nevertheless, most princely builders adopted one of three strategies, each of which, as we shall see, had both advantages and drawbacks. They could ignore the British, and continue to erect buildings in European styles; they could adopt the Indo-Saracenic as their own; or, like the religiously conservative Jaipur, who correctly perceived that this was a "colonial" not an indigenous architectural style, they could confine it to public structures where they enacted the roles expected of them by the colonial state.

Sindhia's Jai Vilas Palace at Gwalior was by no means exceptional in its employment of a European style of architecture. During these same years the Bundela raja of Panna, whom Griffin called "a singularly enlightened prince," hired an English architect to put up in his remote central Indian state an elaborately classical palace, with an extensive Corinthian colonnade, a grand staircase, and lofty rooms in the formal beaux-arts style. The Maratha prince Holkar also sought out English architects to build first, in the 1880s, a Palladian palace adjacent to his old city palace in Indore, and then, in the early twentieth century, a villa on the outskirts of town.²⁴

Most extraordinary, perhaps, was the behavior of the young Sikh maharaja of Kapurthala, Jagatjit Singh. When he came of age in 1890, Kapurthala invited three architects to submit designs for a new palace. One

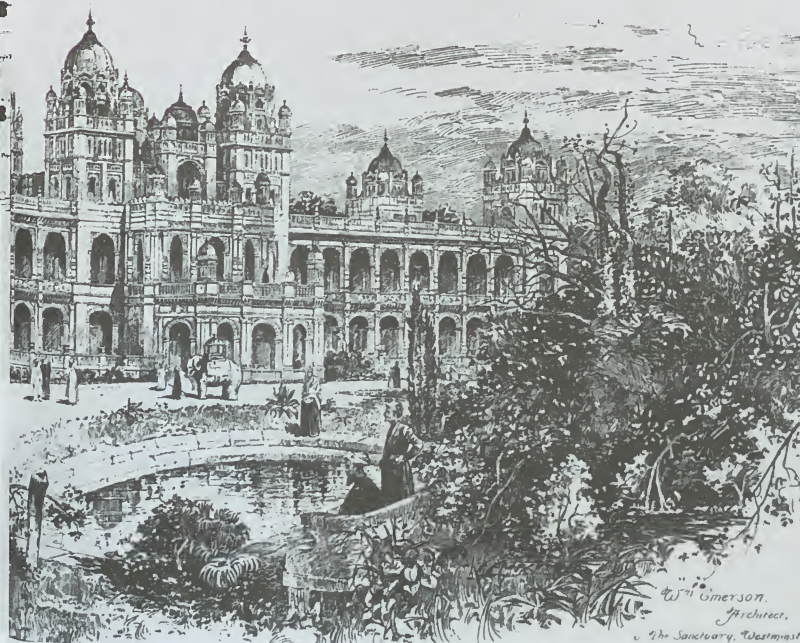
was a local builder; one was William Emerson, the renowned designer of the Indo-Saracenic Muir College, Allahabad; and the third a beaux-arts French architect, M. Marcel. Emerson's design reflected the influence of Mant's Baroda palace (fig. 32). The guest rooms were isolated in one wing; the *zanana* in another; while the maharaja's public quarters, with durbar hall, drawing room, dining room, billiard room, and smoking room, occupied the main front. The overall design, the *Building News* reported, was "eminently characteristic of the historic architecture of India, cleverly adapted to modern requirements and usage." Yet the maharaja, enamored of France and things French, selected instead Marcel's design, which combined elements from Fontainebleau and the Louvre to create a vision of a French chateau in the plains of the Punjab. Decorated

32. W. Emerson's design (not built) for the palace of the maharaja of Kapurthala. From *The Building News*, 27 April 1894, by courtesy of the British Architectural Library, RIBA, London.



with furnishings imported from France, the palace provided Jagatjit Singh a stage on which to play out his dreams of being a "sun king" in the style of Louis XIV, after whom the main reception hall was named.²⁵

Such "defiance," while it no doubt brought down upon the offending prince a degree of British displeasure, seems not to have been coupled with any active political opposition to the Raj. Indeed, it can be said that those who built in European styles sought by such mimicry to tie themselves even more closely to their European overlords. In any case, these men often took the precaution of putting up some buildings in the "approved" Indo-Saracenic style. Sindhia, for instance, commemorated Queen Victoria's 1897 Jubilee by erecting a college at Gwalior in what *Indian Engineering* called the "Mahomedan style of architecture." Designed by the English engineer in charge of the state Public Works Department, the red sandstone structure incorporated all the usual elements of Indo-Saracenic design, including stone screens with carved tracery, an array of rooftop cupolas, and even a clock tower resembling those designed by Mant. Ever independent-minded, however, Sindhia a decade later, in 1908, cloaked the post office at Lashkar with the Ionic columns and pediments of a classical Greek temple.²⁶



The "Model Prince": Ganga Singh of Bikaner

The most renowned princely enthusiast for Indo-Saracenic architecture was unquestionably Maharaja Ganga Singh of Bikaner. Born in 1880, Ganga Singh acceded to the throne seven years later, in 1887, and remained under British tutelage for the subsequent eleven years, until he took charge of the state in December 1898. For several of those years he attended Mayo College—one of a very few reigning princes ever to do so—and for the last three years of his minority he studied privately with an English tutor, Sir Brian Egerton. The Bikaner state, located in the remote western Rajasthan desert, was never one of the more thriving regions of India. Yet Ganga Singh did his best, during his long reign of fifty years, to give his state a "progressive" image. He constructed railways and canals, including a major channel off the Sutlej River into the Ganganagar district; he reorganized the state's administration on a departmental basis, modeled on that of British India, with each secretary directly responsible to the ruler; and he actively participated in national and even international politics as a representative of the Indian princely order.²⁷

In projecting an ideal of a "model" prince, Ganga Singh of course won the approbation of his British overlords, who frequently visited Bikaner, especially to join in the annual November sand-grouse shoot. Curzon, as early as 1902, set out in a speech at Bikaner the British conception of the cultural style a prince like Ganga Singh ought to embody. If a chief, he said, "has had the advantage of the best English education, as His Highness has had, he can introduce all manner of reforms and enlightenment into the administration of his State. If he is at the same time a true Indian, by which I mean a man devoted to the interests of his own creed and caste and country, then he can obtain an almost unmeasured influence over his subjects. Thus he can combine the merits of the East and the West in a single blend; and can be at the same time a Liberal and a Conservative, each in the best sense of the term."²⁸

In his architectural enterprises Ganga Singh set out to translate this cultural ideal into stone. The new palace in appearance stood certainly in striking contrast to the old. The residence of the Bikaner rulers from Akbar's time onward, the fort had grown over the years by accretion as subsequent rulers had added rooms for their own use. With space limited inside the walls, new wings had for the most part to be constructed on

top of those below, so that by the mid-nineteenth century the fort had reached an imposing height of from four to five stories, though it remained focused around two main courtyards—a *diwan-i-am* and a *diwan-i-khas*. The final addition to the structure, put up during Ganga Singh's minority, was a massive and ornate durbar hall. Raising its head proudly over the city which encircles it, wrote Gordon Sanderson, "it must appeal strongly to the sentiment of the inhabitants as being the place wherein their rulers hold audience."²⁹

It is unclear what role the fifteen-year-old maharaja played in the Re-gency Council's 1895 decision to construct the new Lallgarh Palace and to appoint Swinton Jacob as architect. Ganga Singh certainly approved the plans and choice of site—some three miles outside the town—and he took a continuing personal interest in the progress of the work.³⁰ The central quadrangle, the Lakshmi Vilas, was completed in 1902 (fig. 33), in time for Lord Curzon's viceregal visit, at a cost of some ten lakhs of rupees.³¹ But Ganga Singh's palace building activity was far from finished.



33. Lallgarh Palace, Bikaner, 1902, at the time of Lord Curzon's viceregal visit.

Photograph courtesy of the British Library.

Not only did he subsequently erect a lake palace at Gajner, some twenty miles away, he put up two extensions to the Lallgarh Palace itself: the first, in 1912, provided living quarters for his son; in the mid-1920s, enclosing a large courtyard, he built on the north side an indoor swimming pool and banqueting hall to seat four hundred, and then on the east a residence for his grandson, the present maharaja. Throughout, Ganga Singh adhered closely to the Indo-Saracenic style of the original Lakshmi Vilas. He had his own copy of Swinton Jacob's *Portfolio of Architectural Details*, and whenever he wished to put up a building he would select from the *Portfolio* those design elements he wanted to include. During construction he supervised closely the state engineers charged with the work, sometimes altering the plan as the work proceeded.³²

Its design, layout, and furnishing combine to make of Lallgarh Palace an almost ideal example of princely Indo-Saracenic architecture. The facade, though constructed of the standard elements of Indo-Saracenic design, projects a remarkably unified architectural conception, in which the design elements were carefully chosen and integrated to create a harmonious structure at once elegant and graceful. Shaping the whole is what can best be called a self-consciously Rajput traditionalism. Classic Mughal elements of the time of Shah Jahan, from the pointed "Saracenic" arch to white marble and inlay work, were eschewed in favor of elements associated with the old forts of Rajasthan: *jaali* screens, friezes, and pillars arrayed horizontally in tiers, delicately carved in red sandstone and capped with rooftop *chattris*. The martial Rajput effect was further enhanced by crenellated battlements and an entrance gateway, squat and square, shaped like the bastion of a fort. Not only Mughal, but elements of obvious European origin were also scrupulously avoided. There is no colonnade, nor any massive clock tower of the sort beloved by Mant. (See plate 12.)

Lallgarh was of course in no sense a Rajput fort. Its battlements and bastions were never meant to defend it against an invader. Its function was rather to enable the maharaja, not so much to play at being a Rajput warrior, as to make manifest—to himself, to the British, to his subjects—his warrior descent. Behind the Indo-Saracenic walls of Lallgarh, Ganga Singh could show himself to be, in Curzon's words, a "Conservative," hence rightfully entitled to "an almost unmeasured influence over his subjects."

But Ganga Singh sought also to be a "Liberal." This the interior arrangements were meant to secure. With its focus around two spacious

courtyards, the layout conformed superficially to the classic Rajput pattern, such as that of the Bikaner fort itself. But the ordered regularity with which the rooms were arranged testified to the different life-style they sustained. In contrast with the fort, whose rooms were small, of a variety of shapes, and put to varying uses, hence sparsely furnished with low and easily moveable *charpais*, *takhts*, and the like, the rooms at Lallgarh marched in a rigidly defined procession around its courtyards. The guest rooms, which took up one side of the Lakshmi Vilas court, were numbered in order, each with a holder over the door for the occupant's card. Arrayed around the other three sides were a series of public rooms, each furnished in Western style and with its function precisely set out: a billiard room, a card room, a dining room, a study for the maharaja, a reception hall, an administrative office, and the like. The upper story was given over to *zanana* quarters and reflected the continuing seclusion of the maharaja's female relations. For the women, little was changed by the move from the fort to Lallgarh (fig. 34).



34. Lallgarh Palace, Bikaner, state drawing room, 1902. Note *parda* screens on upper floor so the women could

observe the proceedings below. Photograph courtesy of the British Library.

One of the primary functions of the new palace was the entertainment of European guests. It was almost entirely for this purpose that the north wing, with its banqueting hall, was set aside. That wing was so laid out that visitors could drive up to the carriage entrance on the north side, disembark, have drinks in the outer reception room, and then walk directly into the banqueting hall, without ever properly entering the Lallgarh Palace at all. Significantly, though the banqueting hall was sometimes referred to as a *darbar* hall, the maharaja never met his own subjects there. Occasions on which the ruler accepted the fealty of his people, or awarded honors to them, such as the various Jubilee celebrations of the reign, took place in the *darbar* hall of the fort. Despite the construction of Lallgarh, the locus of the symbolic ties that united the ruler and his people remained unchanged.³³

In its interior arrangements the Lallgarh Palace was by no means unique. Whereas old palaces mixed together rooms of different shapes and functions, with new wings, such as that of the *darbar* hall in the Bikaner fort, added to the old, new palaces, whether Indo-Saracenic or Europeanate in their architectural style, almost invariably arranged their internal space in similar ways. The Gwalior Jai Vilas *darbar* hall, for instance, was strikingly similar to that of Lallgarh in making provision for European visitors to alight from their carriages and enter the hall without having to proceed through any other portion of the palace. For the most part, too, regardless of architectural style, palaces adhered to a strict segregation of the women's quarters, either by their isolation in a separate wing, as at Baroda, or, as at Bikaner, by their placement on an upper story. Most incongruous perhaps was the contrast at Panna between the serenely colonnaded classical facade, with the formal European rooms that faced it, and the *zanana* and servant's quarters to the rear, clustered about the shore of a sacred lake. The colonial context, in other words, not only imposed a basic structure of orderliness in the layout of princely palaces, it also dictated that the space be arranged to accommodate certain specific and often novel needs; for all princes required at once anglicized living quarters, derived in large part from the pattern of the Victorian country house, where they could show off their "modern" ways, ceremonial space easily accessible to the distinguished Europeans they were required to entertain, and secluded rooms where they might retire and their women could be secure.

Maharaja Ganga Singh was exceptional not so much for his adoption of Indo-Saracenic forms at Lallgarh as for the enthusiasm with which he embraced this architectural style. In addition to his palace, Ganga Singh spread Indo-Saracenic-styled buildings, several also designed by Swinton Jacob, across the face of his capital city. Among these were the Victoria Memorial Club, established as a "means of promoting social intercourse between the European community and the sirdars and gentry of Bikaner"; the King George V Hall, which served first as a town hall, then as a State Legislative Assembly building; the Dungar Memorial College; the Collectorate; and the main railway station.³⁴ Each, to some degree like Lallgarh itself, joined a "traditional" facade with a novel "modern" purpose, and so furthered Ganga Singh's enduring effort to project an image at once "Liberal" and "Conservative."

Across from the entrance to the old fort, Ganga Singh laid out a thirty-five-acre public park. The idea of the park, Ganga Singh wrote, "originated in my desire to perpetuate the historical importance of the Purejat district," a tract awarded an earlier Bikaner raja by Aurangzeb in recognition of his military service in the Deccan, but recently ceded to the British government. The "most striking" monument in the park was a sixty-six-foot-high marble and red sandstone tower, designed by Swinton Jacob, called the Kirti Stambh, or Tower of Glory. Set in an ornamental water-tank, the tower contained a series of tablets, on which, Ganga Singh proudly proclaimed at the park's opening, "in addition to the history of the Purejat, will be inscribed feats of arms of the Bikaner State, its Rulers and men, covering a period of 447 years since the state was founded." Apart from a gleaming marble statue of Ganga Singh's predecessor, Dungar Singh, the remainder of the monuments in the park evoked the colonial present. The principal entrance was the Queen Empress Gate; there was a Minto Terrace, 634 feet long, and a Lady Minto Gate; an ornamental tank and fountain were named for Sir C. Bayley, political agent and president of the Regency Council during Ganga Singh's minority; an Egerton Tank adjacent to the Queen Empress Gate kept alive the memory of the maharaja's old tutor.³⁵

Like his Indo-Saracenic buildings, this park represented Ganga Singh's continuing search for a way of drawing together and uniting his state's martial past and its colonial present. Yet, as the colonial present shaped and defined the past in Indo-Saracenic architecture, so too did it give

meaning to this park. The notion of a "public park" was itself, first of all, a product of the colonial era, for a conception of public space or "commons" did not exist in pre-British India, and such earlier resorts as the Mughal pleasure gardens had always been restricted to the use of the emperor and his nobles. By creating a public park, Ganga Singh was once again defining himself as an enlightened and modern ruler. But the park had of course a larger purpose—to convince the common people of Bikaner that their state had had a heroic past, and that, though its "feats of arms" were now circumscribed by the British Raj, still its entire 447 years of existence had been marked by martial "glory." Yet the Tower of Glory, designed by an Englishman, in no way resembled the famous victory towers of Chitor, while the stroller in the park was confronted on every side with all too visible reminders of the colonial present, from the queen-empress and the viceroy to the tutors and regents who had guided and controlled the young maharaja.

How far, one might ask, did the idle stroller, or Ganga Singh himself, appreciate the ironies of the Kirti Stambh, or even of the Lallgarh Palace: that as colonial constructions they were in no sense authentic representations of a continuing Rajput tradition. Ganga Singh could not himself avoid noticing the disproportionate number of memorials in the park to British officials. At its opening ceremony he took care to announce that "as regards the past the names are those of high government officers, but for the future we hope such will also include men of the State." (Interestingly, apart from a statue of Ganga Singh himself put up after his death, no additional memorials were ever erected in the park.) For the most part, however, it would seem, Ganga Singh accepted as legitimate the colonial reconstruction of his state's past. For Swinton Jacob, certainly, whom he wished to honor with a memorial in the park, he cherished a great affection; he called him that "veteran and distinguished architect who has left his mark all over India and especially in Rajputana and Bikaner by designing so many beautiful buildings."³⁶

Ganga Singh, one might argue, adopted so unreservedly the assumptions of Indo-Saracenic architecture because he had assimilated so fully the expectations of his British tutors. Shaped by the experience of Mayo College and his study with Egerton, he saw the past, as well as the role he ought to play in the present, in the way the British wanted him to see it. He was a "model" prince because he had adopted as his own the British conception of how a "model" prince ought to act. His Indo-Saracenic

buildings, like his larger political activities in princely India, testify to the success the British could achieve in molding a colonialized elite to fit the needs of their Raj. Nor did the British see their success in shaping Ganga Singh only as a result of formal schooling. Architecture as well played an important role. Much of the reason, as we have seen, why the British wished to see the young maharaja housed in a new palace outside the town was to improve his "moral" health. Buildings too, as well as education, could shape character: and for a prince an Indo-Saracenic palace shaped it most precisely in the ways the British wished.

Swinton Jacob and the Maharajas of Jaipur

Many princes patronized Indo-Saracenic architecture, not like Ganga Singh, with a commitment to the cultural assumptions it embodied, but simply because they realized it was politic to do so. The British expected it of them, and they accepted the necessity of accommodating their ruler's wishes. Such considerations seem in large measure to have guided the princes as they built their state boarding houses at the Mayo College, Ajmer. Although the Indian government at the outset specifically authorized the chiefs to erect their own buildings "on their own plans," several of the major princes at once handed over responsibility for design and



35. Kotah State Boarding House, Mayo College, 1902. Photograph courtesy of the Mayo College.

construction to the British executive engineer at the site.³⁷ Once the British by the mid-1870s had decided upon an Indo-Saracenic main building, no prince certainly was prepared to defy the government by, say, putting up a European-styled structure. The houses as built exhibit a wide array of variations within the Indo-Saracenic form. Some indeed, like the Kotah House, with its thirty-foot-high corner domes connected by pavilions that enclose a quadrangle, are surprisingly imaginative (fig. 35). Nevertheless, with the sole exception of Jaipur House, all the residences were designed and built by the college's British engineers.³⁸ The princes, to whom the plans were submitted for approval, did no more than comment on details of the design or, occasionally, protest the cost of the structures the British were putting up for them.³⁹

Similar concerns shaped much of the princes' public building in their states. Following the pattern set in British India, clock towers, railway stations, public offices, assembly halls, and the like, were all regarded as kinds of structures for which an Indo-Saracenic design was most appropriate. Such building could testify to a prince's "modern" taste without forcing him to accept that architectural style as his own. In the design of such structures the princes usually employed European architects. The Gaekwar even hired F. W. Stevens, the builder of the Victoria Terminus and other European-styled structures in Bombay, to design a block of public offices "in the Hindu style of architecture" for the town of Mehsana, together with a public market, on the pattern of the Bombay Crawford Market but in a "free treatment" of the Hindu style, for the town of Patan.⁴⁰ Europeans, after all, were presumed to be most skilled in the novel forms of Indo-Saracenic design, and their employment would, as well, enhance the reputation of the princely patron. Still, not all Indo-Saracenic buildings were designed by Europeans. Teekaram, for instance, trained on the Rajputana State Railway, where he was employed as head draftsman, was responsible for a highly praised design "in the Hindoo style of architecture" for the Alwar maharaja's railway station. He also contributed to the designing of the Canning College, Lucknow, erected by the landlords of Oudh as their major "modern"-style philanthropic enterprise.⁴¹

By far the most successful at sizing up the larger implications of the Indo-Saracenic as a colonial building style were the successive maharajas of Jaipur. Alone among India's princes, they provided sustained patronage of this architecture over a long period of years, yet in their own personal building activities they remained always scrupulously aloof from it.

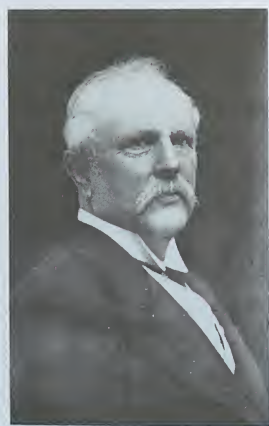
The Jaipur rulers, as we have seen, in the early eighteenth century had abandoned their historic fort at Amber, astride the pass guarding the road to Delhi, for a new planned capital in the plain to the south. At the heart of the new city was the City Palace, laid out in Mughal fashion around a series of geometrical interior courtyards. In its architectural style the palace combined Mughal and Rajput decorative detail in an ornate and intricate fashion. The British, when they arrived in Jaipur a century after Jai Singh, did not bring pressure on the maharaja to construct a new palace residence. While the City Palace, like the city itself, was sufficiently colorful to attract a steady stream of British tourists, still, since city and palace alike were orderly and spacious in their layout, they did not evoke the sort of criticism leveled at the old palaces of such princes as Bikaner.

The Jaipur maharajas were steadfast supporters of the British as they had been before of the Mughals. Ram Singh (ruled 1851–80) won the gratitude of the British especially for his loyalty during the 1857 revolt. Himself a devout Hindu, Ram Singh set out to secure for Jaipur the reputation of being a progressive "modern" state. This combination of religious orthodoxy, reinforced by a continued secluded residence within the City Palace, with a simultaneous desire to be known as a modern ruler was, as we shall see, over the years to shape for the Jaipur maharajas a distinctive strategy of politics and of architecture alike.

In Ram Singh's Jaipur as in Ganga Singh's Bikaner, the endeavor to be an "enlightened" ruler inevitably involved the construction of novel sorts of buildings, clothed in new architectural styles, and usually designed by British advisers. During the last two decades of his rule Ram Singh established a college, a school of art, a public library, a hospital (named after the slain viceroy, Lord Mayo), and a public garden, the Ram Nivas Bagh. He also built a gas works, laid on piped water in the city, and initiated the color washing of Jaipur's buildings, which gained it the title of the Pink City.⁴² These enterprises involved the expenditure of considerable sums. In an effort to enhance its "architectural beauty," for instance, the maharaja incorporated in the hospital a substantial amount of cut stone work, with the result that its construction cost doubled, to Rs. 1,62,000 from the original estimate of Rs. 81,000.⁴³ The plans for the garden too were elaborate. In 1868, when the work was just getting under way, and the ground had only "been cleared of huts, prickly pear, hedges, and rubbish," the state Public Works Department reported that "the Maharajah wishes the Garden to be second to none in India, and to

be complete in itself; . . . one section is to be set apart as a Botanical Garden, there is to be a Zoological Section, an Aquarium, an Aviary, a Band Stand, Fountains, a Garden Palace with terraces, Lodges, and a host of other things, which will suggest themselves as the work proceeds."⁴⁴ By 1888 the maharaja had spent nearly four lakhs of rupees on this project.

To supervise these various projects, Maharaja Ram Singh in 1867 brought to Jaipur as his executive engineer for public works a young man fresh from duty as field engineer in Aden, Lt. Swinton Jacob of the Bombay Artillery. Jacob remained as executive engineer until his retirement from the Indian Army with the rank of colonel in 1896. After retirement he stayed on in Jaipur at the maharaja's request, first as superintending engineer (to 1902), and then from 1905 to 1911 as an adviser to the maharaja.⁴⁵ This exceptionally lengthy service—some forty-five years, or nearly his entire adult life—won Jacob substantial praise, capped with the award of a knighthood from the Indian government (fig. 36). So early as 1873 the political agent spoke of his "rare tact and conciliation," which had done much to "maintain the honor and dignity of the British name at this court."⁴⁶ Twenty-three years later, on the occasion of Jacob's formal retirement, the foreign secretary noted that the "Jeypore Durbar are not particularly easy to manage," and asserted that "their enlightened policy in developing irrigation and communications, which has so increased the prosperity of the State, is entirely due to the abilities of Colonel Jacob and the confidence with which he has inspired them."⁴⁷



36. Swinton Jacob (1841–1917).
Photograph courtesy of the
Maharaja Sawai Man Singh
Museum, Jaipur.

The bulk of Jacob's time and most of the funds entrusted to his care were, not surprisingly, invested in irrigation and road-building projects. During the first twenty years under his charge, from 1868 to 1888, the Jaipur Public Works Department spent nearly twenty-eight lakhs of rupees on irrigation works, half that much, or fourteen and a half lakhs, on communications, some thirteen and a half lakhs on the construction of buildings, and Rs. 17,63,000 on miscellaneous public improvements, including the city water works and garden.⁴⁸ Together these varied enterprises, fittingly brought together under Jacob's charge, represented the maharaja's commitment to a new conception of an "enlightened" ruler's civic duty and proclaimed that Jaipur was, or soon would become, a "modern" state.

As the centerpiece of the Ram Nivas Garden project Ram Singh proposed to erect a museum called the Albert Hall, in honor of the Prince of Wales, who on a visit to Jaipur in 1876 laid its foundation stone. The construction of this building was, however, to be a difficult and time-consuming, as well as an expensive affair. This structure alone consumed one-third of the total funds expended by the Public Works Department for new buildings during the years from 1868 to 1888. The maharaja had initially envisaged the structure as something of a town hall, combining "Assembly and Reading Rooms, Library and Museum." An open competition, following the prince's visit, produced some twenty-seven designs. Rejecting all of them, Ram Singh instead asked Surgeon-Major W. F. deFabeck, residency surgeon and director of the Jaipur Art School, who had designed the Mayo Hospital, to "prepare a design more in accordance with the requirements of the case" than any of those submitted. A year later, in 1878, still dissatisfied, the maharaja abruptly took all responsibility for design and construction into his own hands. Yet another design was then prepared, and construction was begun, only to be brought to a halt by the death of the maharaja in 1880. At this point, with the foundations completed, the new maharaja Madho Singh (ruled 1880–1922), handed over charge of the Albert Hall to Swinton Jacob.⁴⁹

Apart from a Gothic-styled English church in Jaipur, Jacob had so far had little experience in the design of large buildings.⁵⁰ The elaborate Albert Hall project therefore made it possible for him to train native artisans to work with him and at the same time to make his own reputation as an architect. Jacob redesigned the building to accommodate a museum alone and added to the plan open courts, corridors, and a large portico (fig. 37). The work was carried out with meticulous attention to detail.

Every piece of ornament was drawn to scale and modeled at full size in sand before being put in place. For six years, from 1881 to 1886, up to 180 stone cutters and 50 masons labored daily to complete the structure. Many of these men, sons of Jaipur masons, were among those trained in the Jaipur Art School to copy the ornamentation which later found its way into the *Jeypore Portfolio*. As they worked on the Hall, T. H. Hendley, the museum secretary, proudly reported, they became "so imbued with the spirit of the Indo-Saracenic style that they could produce works which were no longer copies but creations." Much of the internal decoration of the Hall, he continued, "is therefore original: there are however reproductions from the palaces at Agra, the tombs near Delhi, and the walls of Amber."⁵¹



37. Albert Hall Museum, Jaipur, c. 1900. Photograph courtesy of the British Library.

From its opening day the building was praised as a "successful adaptation of the Indo-Saracenic style to a modern public building." For the *Journal of Indian Art* it showed "unity of design with strength and boldness of conception," and they lauded the "perfect taste and capacity" of its architect. Fifteen years later Rudyard Kipling, on his travels through Rajputana, spoke of the museum as a "jewel" in a "superb casing—a wonder of carven white stone of the Indo-Saracenic style"; and the organization of its exhibits excited equal enthusiasm. So late even as Lutyens's tour of India in 1912 the Albert Hall was still being pointed out as a masterpiece of design, worthy of a visit by the intended architects of the new imperial capital.⁵²

Despite this triumph, however, Jacob found little scope for his architectural skills in buildings meant for the personal use of his employers. Throughout the lifetime of Ram Singh, to 1880, Jacob and the Public Works Department he headed were specifically excluded from responsibility for all works of interest or concern to the maharaja himself. These included not only the City Palace, but all buildings throughout the city owned by the Raj, including the famous Hawa Mahal and the residences of all palace staff, the fort of Amber, and all temples, ghats, and other religious structures anywhere in the state. Responsibility for these works rested with a separate public works department, called the Raj Imarat, within the palace. The maharaja disbursed funds as he saw fit to this department, and exercised unfettered control over the activities of its staff, which consisted wholly of traditionally trained local artisans. Ram Singh's effort to be perceived as a "modern" ruler clearly ended at the palace gates. Within he was determined to protect the integrity of his traditional way of life and to patronize the old artisanal styles of building.

This division of responsibility did not please Jacob. To be sure, occasional tasks within the palace were entrusted to him. In 1873, for instance, he supplied a clock for an existing tower, and the following year he built an ornamental staircase leading to the palace billiard room; in 1872 also, finding it difficult to supervise work at such a distance, the maharaja handed over to Jacob charge of repairs to the Man Mandir temple on the banks of the Ganges at Benares.⁵³ Still, as Jacob complained in 1879 while trying to hide his disappointment, "Large sums are spent [by the Durbar] through their own native subordinates in works in the Palace and other Raj buildings with which I have no connection, nor wish to interfere, although I do sometimes regret that my advice at all events is not oftener sought or followed."⁵⁴

The death of Ram Singh in 1880 provided Jacob with an opportunity, which he at once set out to exploit, to gain a measure of control over the Imarat department. His motive was efficiency. Works, he wrote, "appear to have been carried out without proper estimates or proper control, and if I can only introduce a better system, it will be a great thing gained." One job, he proudly announced, the paving of the palace garden walks, previously estimated to cost Rs. 31,315, "is being done under my supervision now for Rs. 21,152."⁵⁵ From 1881 onward, estimates and final bills for all Imarat department projects had to pass through Jacob's office, and on completion the works were inspected before the bills were sent for payment to the maharaja. In 1886 Jacob managed further to secure the appointment as darogha in charge of the Imarat department of one of his trusted subordinates, Lala Chiman Lal, who had worked under him as a junior clerk for fifteen years.⁵⁶

These changes made it possible for Jacob to reduce Imarat expenditures, which in the 1880s and 1890s averaged about one and a half lakhs of rupees annually, but he still had little control over the initiation and design of the maharaja's major building projects. Of these, during the 1880s, the most substantial was the construction of *zanana* quarters in the Nahargarh fort. Located high on a ridge above the city, Nahargarh had been built by Sawai Jai Singh in the mid-eighteenth century but was left unfinished. Madho Singh decided to transform the fort into a monsoon retreat and so had constructed a set of nine apartments for the women of the royal family. Designed within the Imarat by one Thakur Fateh Singh, and built at a cost of two and a half lakhs, the Zanana Mahals, each of two stories, were arranged, three to a side, around a rectangular courtyard, with the maharaja's own apartment occupying the fourth side.⁵⁷ Certain features—the ordered layout, the use of European-style latrines and rectangular windows, the inscription in marble of the name of the occupant over each doorway—testify to a certain European influence, but Jacob had nothing to do with the work except to disburse the funds entrusted to him and scrutinize the accounts.

By 1889 Jacob had begun to complain of an "apparent indifference" to public works on the part of the Jaipur maharaja, and increasingly in subsequent years he occupied himself with design commissions from outside the state.⁵⁸ He remained personally close to Madho Singh, and indeed at the maharaja's express request accompanied him to London in 1902 for the coronation of Edward VII.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, like Ram Singh

before him, Madho Singh clearly did not regard the style of architecture Jacob had done so much to develop as appropriate for buildings meant for his own personal use or that of his court. The only two of the maharaja's private buildings with which Jacob was involved as designer—the Ram Bagh Guest House, and the Mubarak Mahal, the latter the only Indo-Saracenic-styled structure within the City Palace—make it clear that, in Madho Singh's view, this architectural style was fitted for one purpose alone: that of mediating the encounter with the colonial ruler.

Even more than his predecessor, Madho Singh cultivated a reputation as a devout, conservative Hindu, and so was determined to keep at bay the pollution of the West. He even took with him to England in 1902 a six-month supply of Ganges water. This religiosity may have been intended at least in part to counter the claims of Jaipur's perennial rivals, the maharanas of Udaipur, who had never sullied their ritual purity by marriage alliances with the Mughals, and who came also of a higher-status Rajput clan. In any case, Madho Singh never adopted an anglicized life-style and never sought to transform the City Palace into a residence where he could meet and entertain European visitors. Yet, as one of the seniormost princes of India, a loyal ally of the British, and a man who cherished his reputation as a "progressive" ruler, Madho Singh could hardly avoid the obligations of hospitality to his overlords. Hence he decided, first, to alter and enlarge a garden reception hall on the outskirts of the city, the Ram Bagh, originally built in about 1850, so that it might serve as a European Guest House. Designed by Swinton Jacob, and constructed by the Imarat department under Chiman Lal, the Ram Bagh when completed contained three large reception rooms, one in each of the building's three wings, attached dining and reading rooms, and some ten bedroom suites. The building was richly ornamented with verandahs, pillars, and screen work of marble, sandstone balustrades and brackets, and decorative *chattris* along the skyline.⁶⁰

But Europeans could not be wholly excluded from the City Palace. So Madho Singh in 1899 had constructed in the outer courtyard of the palace a ceremonial reception hall, the Mubarak Mahal. The building was put up by the Imarat department under Chiman Lal, and the design, if not Jacob's own, reflected Chiman Lal's long years of schooling under him, for it was lavishly ornate and detailed in the style of the Albert Hall.⁶¹ A delicate rooftop balustrade, bracketed cornices, pilasters and columns attached to the side of the building, together defined a building

at once strongly horizontal in character and alive with ornamentation. Though its open balconies suggest something of the flavor of a Mughal pavilion, such avowedly "Saracenic" motifs as domes and *chattris* were omitted, perhaps to enhance the "purely Hindu" effect of a building placed in the courtyard of a Hindu ruler. (See plates 13 and 14.) Opposite the Mubarak Mahal, Madho Singh constructed, in the same architectural style and of the same marble, a massive gateway that gave access to the courtyard of the Mubarak Mahal from the private apartments.

This construction made it possible for the Jaipur maharaja to receive European visitors with proper courtesy, as he proceeded ceremonially through the entrance gateway and into the ornately decorated guest house. Yet at the same time the foreigners were kept confined to this outer courtyard, safely away from the interior quarters of the palace.⁶² Madho Singh's choice of architectural style reinforced this distinction. In constructing the Mubarak Mahal, but no other structures within the City Palace, in an Indo-Saracenic style, Madho Singh seems to have perceived, correctly, that although this architectural style masqueraded as a "traditional" form, it truly suited only those occasions when the princes and their rulers acted out the roles defined for them by the "constructed tradition" of the colonial state. To have adopted the Indo-Saracenic as their own would have been to undercut that sense of independence which the Jaipur maharajas sought to assure by their religious orthodoxy, and which the separate Imarat department, employing traditionally trained artisans under their own control, visibly represented. Although the Jaipur maharajas retained Swinton Jacob in their employ for nearly half a century and let him build not only irrigation works but such elaborate Indo-Saracenic structures as the Albert Hall, they never, unlike Ganga Singh, allowed themselves to be wholly caught up in the assumptions that architectural style embodied. In Jaipur the British, together with their architecture, were always kept at a distance and in their proper place.

Some princely building activity remained unaffected by Indo-Saracenic architectural styles. Temples, mosques, and the cenotaphs of deceased rulers continued almost always, in the later nineteenth century as before, to be erected by formally untrained artisans according to designs handed down little altered from the past. European architects never designed such structures, for the princes did not seek out European advice on these matters, and the British shrank from imposing their views. Apart from a reluctance to interfere in the sensitive arena of religious practice for fear of provoking hostility, the British, as part of their larger concep-

tion of the princely role in India, sought always to sustain, and so to take advantage of, whatever independent legitimacy the princes possessed. By leaving untouched the design of religious structures, the British could make certain (or so at least they thought) that the princes remained authentic representatives of their people, able to act effectively as spokesmen in religious matters and to aid as well in the resolution of communal disputes.⁶³

In some remote corners of India, too, distance and poverty combined to secure for the local princes a degree of isolation from the constraints of the Raj and its architecture. The princes of Bundi, whose state was hidden behind a jumble of rocks and ridges off the Chambal valley, kept up their old ways and continued to live in their old fort climbing dramatically above the town, until nearly the end of the colonial era; a new palace with proper reception and drawing rooms was built only in 1945.⁶⁴ In remote Jaisalmer, connected with the outside world only by camel tracks across the Thar desert, so poor was the raja that the British made no effort even to solicit contributions from him for the Mayo College.⁶⁵ For his new palace, built in the 1890s at the foot of the old fortified city, though the design was more classically proportioned in its layout than the cramped residence within the fort, the Jaisalmer raja still relied wholly on local artisans, and the work continued the enduring traditions of Rajput decoration.

For the most part, however, in architecture as in politics, the princes of India had no choice but to come to terms with Britain's predominance. If they wished to retain any of their old power and influence, they could not simply continue in their old ways unchanged. In architecture this meant above all that they had to come to terms with Indo-Saracenic design; for this architectural style, with its "modern" interior layout and ornate "Oriental" facade, most fitly represented, in the British view, the role the princes ought to play in a colonial India. They should be, as Curzon said of Bikaner, both "Conservative" and "Liberal," sustained at once by what the British saw as traditional ties to their subjects and by an "enlightened" modern education; and their buildings had inevitably to reflect this position. Though some might adopt this style as their own, for the most part the princes put up Indo-Saracenic structures to conform to a British expectation of how they ought to behave.

One might argue furthermore that these princely palaces were in large measure built for the British. Of course the British did not themselves reside in them, but the new palace was to a great extent con-

structed in order to provide an appropriate arena in which the British could be received and entertained. Indeed, one might even say that the Indo-Saracenic palace provided them with a stage on which to enact their fantasies of "Oriental rulership," for such a palace was suitably "exotic," yet in its interior appointments reassuringly familiar and comfortable. Certainly these palaces were not intended, except insofar as they might contribute to it by their sheer size and opulence, to reinforce the bonds uniting the prince with his people; even Ganga Singh of Bikaner after all received his subjects not in the new Lallgarh Palace but in the durbar hall specially erected for the purpose in the old fort.

The princely palace, then, expressed a distinctive colonial culture, and was shaped by a British conviction that architecture, like education, could form character. The Indo-Saracenic palace, with the Mayo College, at once embodied this vision and testified to its success. Some princes might endeavor to keep the British, and their architecture, at a distance; others, like Sindhia in his Jai Vilas palace, might define for themselves a cultural, and an architectural, style more European in character. But none could wholly escape the assumptions embedded in Indo-Saracenic building: for this architectural style represented too well their status in a colonial society. Whatever claims to legitimacy the princes might assert derived wholly from the past, and yet these claims gained meaning only so far as they were validated by the British in the present. Nothing better symbolized this ambivalence than the Lallgarh Palace at Bikaner.

5

Arts, Crafts, and Empire

Speaking at the South Kensington Museum in January 1858, John Ruskin, the British crafts enthusiast already renowned for his *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, asked what lessons India could supply for the reform of art and architecture in Britain. "Among the models set before you in this institution," he said, "and in others established through the kingdom for the teaching of design, there are, I suppose, none in their kind more admirable than the decorated works of India." In the "delicate application of divided hue, and fine arrangement of fantastic hue," Indian work was "almost inimitable." Nor, he continued, "is this power of theirs exerted by the people rarely, or without enjoyment; the love of subtle design seems universal in the race, and is developed in every implement that they shape, and every building that they raise."¹

Yet Ruskin's appreciation of India's art was by no means unqualified. Indeed, as Ruskin spoke, Indians were expressing "power" of a different kind in the revolt that had broken out among the sepoys of the Bengal Army seven months before and had subsequently spread across the plains of northern India. The shock of this uprising against British authority cast its shadow across the museum five thousand miles away. "Since the race of man began its course of sin on this earth," the outraged Ruskin asserted, "nothing has ever been done by it so significative of all bestial, and lower than bestial degradation, as the acts of the Indian race in the year that has just passed by."² Nor was this "barbarism" unconnected with the art of the Indian people. For Ruskin, all true art was founded on "knowledge of Nature" and took as its aim the representation of "some natural fact as truly as possible." India's art, by contrast, "either forms its

compositions out of meaningless fragments of colour and flowings of hue; or if it represents any living creature, it represents that creature under some distorted and monstrous form. To all the facts and forms of nature it willfully and resolutely opposes itself; it will not draw a man, but an eight-armed monster; it will not draw a flower, but only a spiral or a zig-zag."³ By abandoning "Nature" for fanciful ornamentation, Indian art had cut itself off from the only authentic source of artistic creativity. So, inevitably, India's art complemented, as it expressed, the "cruelty stretched to its fiercest" that, in Ruskin's view, marked the behavior of the rebels of 1857.

With a significance so emotionally and politically charged, India's art did not teach easy or obvious lessons. If this art was bound to "the service of luxury and idolatry," then how could it at the same time be the admirable product of a medieval crafts society? If it were the product of a "refined" people, then how could it be "degraded" in character? This chapter will explore the tension between these contending visions and show how together they nevertheless expressed a coherent view of India's art and its past. Simultaneously attractive and repellent, this constructed "India" fitted at once the requirements of its imperial rulers and the needs of England's crafts movement. We will first examine the way India's art was portrayed in Europe for the larger domestic audience and then assess the way British crafts enthusiasts sought to shape design in India during the later nineteenth century. Neither the making of art in India nor its display overseas existed apart from the other. What the European at home saw was what those who controlled the production of art in India wanted him to see, whereas the crafts designer in India worked always sustained by a vision of what England was and what it ought to be.

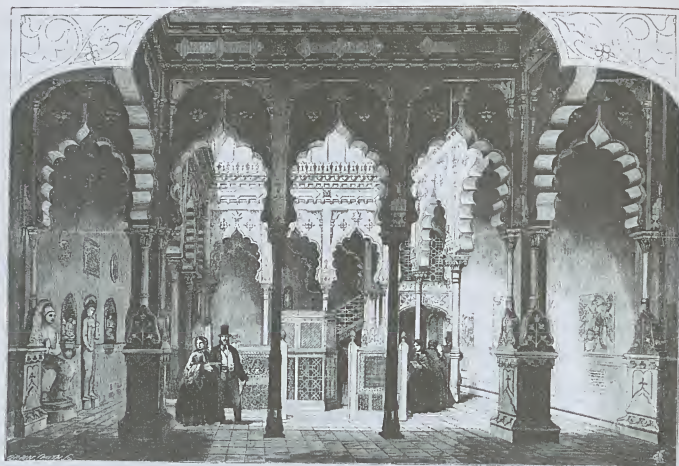
The Representation of India in Britain

In 1851, for the Great Exhibition at the Crystal Palace, the East India Company brought to London an extensive collection of Indian textiles, metalware, woodwork, and other crafts, together with jewelry and precious stones stripped from India's former rulers during the years of conquest. For the first time the breadth and richness of India's artistic accomplishments came prominently to the notice of the British public. Startled by the "beauty, directness, and variety of form" of the objects displayed, the British art world was forced to acknowledge the "high perfection," as

Professor J. Forbes Royle declared, to which the arts had been carried among "our fellow-subjects of the East, whom many of us had been in the habit of considering as barbarians."⁴ Owen Jones singled out for praise the Indian enamel and textile work. He marveled at the "presence of so much unity of design, so much skill and judgement in its application, with so much of elegance and refinement in the execution." The whole, he said, provided an "order" in sharp contrast to the "disorder" of European decorative art. In sum, as the exhibition's organizer, Henry Cole, remarked some years later, "What a lesson such designs afford manufacturers even in those nations of Europe which have made the greatest progress in industry!"⁵

The stunning success of the 1851 exhibition, and of the Indian section within it, set on foot a series of subsequent exhibitions throughout Europe and at the same time gave an impetus to the more effective "presentation" of India in the museums of England. For some years the East India Company had kept in its headquarters a small collection of objects brought back from India by its servants. The enthusiasm generated by the 1851 exhibition and a subsequent exhibition in Paris in 1855, together with the problem of housing the enormous influx of Indian materials the two exhibitions brought in their wake, induced the Company to extend and reconstruct its museum (fig. 38). Opened in February 1858, the new museum had as its "principal object," wrote the *Times*, "to illustrate the productive resources of India, and to give information about the life and manners, the arts and industry of its inhabitants." For the first time India was to be presented systematically rather than by the random display of armaments, jewels, and rare commodities.⁶ At the same time the Company employed Digby Wyatt to transform the former Tea Sale Room into a salon intended to represent an Indian mosque to house ancient sculpture and stonework. Unlike the 1851 exhibition, where the objects were displayed in glass cases, the visitor could now immerse himself in the "exotic" world of the "East." As all the exhibits represented the "Orient," no one cared to notice the incongruity of placing Buddhist antiquities in a model of an Islamic mosque.

Meanwhile Henry Cole, entrepreneur and organizer of the 1851 exhibition, had purchased at auction a portion of the Company's exhibits, which he then used to form the nucleus of the Indian Section of the South Kensington Museum, inaugurated in 1857. The indefatigable Cole continued, during the 1860s, as director of the museum, to organize exhibitions and collect material. He proudly published the result of his endeavor



38. The East India House Museum, London. From *The Illustrated London News*, 6 March 1858.

ors in the *Catalogue of the Objects of Indian Art Exhibited in the South Kensington Museum* (1874). The abolition of the East India Company within a few months of the opening of its new museum had meanwhile left these collections homeless; throughout the 1860s they wandered from place to place as dispute raged over the relative merits of housing them in the British Museum, in South Kensington, or in a new museum to be built at Whitehall near the new India Office. Ultimately in 1875, with the government unwilling to spend the money for a separate museum, Cole secured the bulk of the collection—some twenty thousand items—for South Kensington. Four years later the East India Museum was formally disbanded, leaving the South Kensington Museum (from 1899 the Victoria and Albert) the principal repository of Indian objects in Great Britain.⁷

Throughout this extended search for an appropriate home for the ever-growing Indian collections, both Cole and the Indian authorities in London determined to transform this heterogeneous mass of objects into

systematically organized collections. Although the East India Company had made a beginning with the creation of the East India Museum, the Company had never even fully catalogued its possessions, while those placed in charge of the museum devoted the bulk of their energy to its botanical and ornithological holdings. Once under the control of the India Office, however, the museum became a center for the study of India. From 1858 onward John Forbes Watson, appointed “Reporter on the Products of India” as well as director of the India Museum, posts he held until the disbandment of the museum in 1879, set on foot a massive program of classification and publication. At the heart of this enterprise was a desire to enhance trade by making available to manufacturers and exporters in Britain detailed knowledge of the products of India. As M. E. Grant Duff, the undersecretary of state, wrote in 1869, the India Museum “is not a mere museum of curiosity, nor even primarily a museum intended for the advancement of science, but the reservoir, so to speak, that supplies power to a machinery created for the purpose of developing the resources of India, and promoting trade between the Eastern and Western empires of Her Majesty, to the great advantage of both.”⁸ In pursuit of this objective Forbes Watson prepared such massive works as the seventeen-volume *Collection of Specimens and Illustrations of the Textile Manufactures of India* and a two-part *Industrial Survey of India* (1872). In similar fashion George Birdwood at the South Kensington Museum subsequently published his own two-volume *Industrial Arts of India* (1878) as a guide to its collections.

It is hard to judge how far, if at all, these publishing ventures, with the museum collections that nourished them, advanced British trade, apart from limited sales of Indian crafts. This systematic collection and organization of Indian materials did, however, push forward the construction of the notion of India as a static “traditional” society. We have already seen how this conception underlay the development of Indo-Saracenic architecture. It was by no means confined to architecture. Ethnographic research in particular reinforced the notion of India as a unique society—of tribes and castes each with its own unvarying and distinctive characteristics. As with the study of India’s architecture, so too with ethnography, the development of photography after 1850 made possible a more “scientific” study. As contrasted with the inevitable subjectivity of a drawing, a photograph could, it was thought, be relied upon to provide an authentic likeness; and from this photograph, conceived of as

that of a "typical" member of an ethnic group, the scholar could then deduce the precise and certain features that were supposed to mark off that group. The earliest such photographic "album" was, not surprisingly, a product of the immediate post-Mutiny years, with its redoubled anxiety to know, and so to control, India's peoples. Initiated by Lady Canning, the wife of the viceroy, with the photographs collected for her and her husband's personal use, the project grew into an eight-volume work, edited at the India Office by Forbes Watson and J. W. Kaye. The work, entitled simply *The People of India*, contained some 468 photographs; each authoritatively represented one of the "races and tribes of Hindustan."⁹ Subsequent more detailed provincial ethnographic surveys only refined and elaborated the categories and the ethnic stereotyping that found expression in this first photographic collection.

Whatever the contribution of the museum collections to the study of India, the general public gained its strongest impressions of England's Eastern empire from the series of international exhibitions that followed the stunning success of the Great Exhibition at the Crystal Palace. On each occasion, whether in London, Paris, Dublin, or elsewhere, the people and products of India secured substantial public acclaim. Although the exhibit organizers often sought economic advantage, the Indian displays rarely yielded immediate commercial gain, for the British public purchased few Indian products for clothing or the decoration of their homes. At best, as we have seen in 1851, the exhibitions made the public aware of the range and character of India's artistic productions. George Birdwood's *Industrial Arts of India*, for instance, originated as a handbook to the Indian art wares exhibition at Paris in 1878. The fairs were most effective, however, in presenting to the visitor a tangible sense of having traveled "East," and back in time as well. "At a single step," wrote the *Times* in describing the Indian collection at the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition, "the visitor is carried from the wild, mad whirl of the individual competitive struggle for existence to which civilization has been reduced in the ever changing West, into the stately splendour of that unchanging antique life of the East, the tradition of which has been preserved in pristine purity only in India."¹⁰

This overwhelming of the senses was brought about by the construction within the exhibition halls of full-scale replicas of Indian buildings, bazaars, and monuments, often peopled with human models. For the Paris 1878 exhibition, for example, C. Purdon Clarke, who subsequently

set up the Indian exhibits in the South Kensington Museum, designed an "Indian Pavilion" to house the gifts given to the Prince of Wales during his 1876 Indian tour. The pavilion—"a compound structure two hundred feet long, coloured a deep red approaching chocolate, with its dusky gold domes and brilliant spires"—was clearly meant to evoke for a European audience the image of an "exotic" East, while the displays within—of pottery, glass, and metal wares, textiles and embroideries, with the "gem of the collection" a three-hundred-year-old carpet hanging prominently in the center of the pavilion—revealed the diversity and the "ancient beauty" of India's traditional crafts. Together the structure and its contents visibly signified both the richness of India's past and England's present role in preserving and sustaining it.¹¹

The contrast between England and India was driven forcibly home by the structures put up for the British section of the exhibition. These consisted of a series of houses—in the Queen Anne style, the Elizabethan, the fifteenth-century half-timbered, the country house of the William and Mary era, the newly invented semi-Gothic terra-cotta facade; each was "representative of English work" and displayed a stage in the history of the nation. This evolutionary series—so expressive of late-nineteenth-century Britain's presentation of its own past—stood sharply at odds with the "timeless" traditional India of the Prince of Wales pavilion.

The same message was further elaborated at the massive 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition in London. Organized by a Royal Commission headed by the Prince of Wales, this exhibition, in addition to bringing before the people of Britain knowledge of the "reproductive resources" of India and the colonies, had an explicitly political purpose: that of "strengthening that bond of union between Her Majesty's subjects in all parts of the Empire." Not progress alone, but the legitimacy of empire was to be affirmed, and so the exhibits were meant to rouse an imperial sentiment among the British populace.¹² In this self-conscious representation of "Empire" India obviously played a central role. Its government was allotted the largest amount of space, and the displays were carefully constructed to promote for the British public the image of Britain creating "order" out of "diversity" and preserving a sophisticated yet static traditional culture. At the same time the visitor was encouraged to feel as if he were stepping into the "exotic" world of the Orient.

Unlike the quartz-crushing and diamond-mining machinery that drew crowds to the Australian and Cape exhibits, the Indian section took

the visitor through entrances marked out by elaborate carved wooden screens into halls dominated by displays of art wares and ornamental fabrics, each grouped by place of origin. For its contribution the Indian central government, together with specimens of India's economic products, set up an arcade of Indian shops, "models of native villages indicating the everyday life of the people," and a set of terra-cotta clay figures to "show the exact types not only of the superior races but also of the wild tribes who represent the ancient peoples" whom the Aryans dispossessed.¹³ The exhibition sought also to capture the splendor of India's princely culture by recreating an Indian palace and durbar hall. The entrance to the palace, symbolically evoking the parallelism of India's present with Britain's past, fronted the reconstructed Bishop's Gate of Old London and was entered through a massive gateway presented by Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior. Flanked by bastions "which admirably simulate the embattled approach to an ancient palace," the entrance gave onto a forecourt where palace artisans could be seen at work on their traditional crafts. Although no rituals were reenacted in it, the richly embellished durbar hall at once impressed the visitor with the opulence of princely India and made clear that this once martial society was now at the service of Britain and its Empire. This display indeed had much in common with the adjacent scene of life-sized stuffed hunting trophies contributed by the maharaja of Cooch Bihar: signifying an India exotic and colorful, yet now tamed, no longer threatening, suitable for display to the British public.¹⁴

Significantly too, while the "economic products" which the government saw as the basis of an enhanced trade were grouped together "under the scientific arrangement followed in the classified list prepared by Dr. Watt," the art wares were set out province by province. Each item was consciously selected or, in the case of the screens, designed to illustrate what were regarded as the distinctive artistic forms of each region. Throughout, the emphasis was on variety and diversity, but with the "characteristic" productions of each province carefully described and enumerated; the whole was of course ordered by the assumption that Britain alone could create a unity from such diversity. The "ethnological exhibits" further elaborated this conception of India's unity and diversity. In a manner reminiscent of Lady Canning's photographic collection, the life-sized clay models, garbed in "traditional" dress and jewelry, together with the living artisans at work on their crafts, depicted an India of timelessness and romance, of varied peoples brought together under Britain's

guardianship, a land, as the *Pall Mall Gazette* wrote, "where everybody is rolling in the riches of spare time, where the risings of the sun are not counted and no one numbers the journeys of the moon; a land of thin, deft fingers, and picture-loving eyes."¹⁵

Although the exhibitions most vividly brought "India" to life for the British public, Purdon Clarke in his reconstruction of the Indian galleries of the South Kensington Museum endeavored to provide a somewhat similar experience. The architectural court, for instance, along one entire wall of the room displayed the fronts of two small, three-storied shop buildings of the seventeenth century, "brought over bodily from Ahmedabad." The room was further decorated with house fronts from northern India, a carved ceiling from Cochin, and casts of various ancient monuments, including the Iron Pillar of Delhi and one of the gateways of the Buddhist stupa at Sanchi. Other rooms had Indian carpets and textiles hung from the walls, with sketches and models of craftsmen at work. The whole attested to England's self-proclaimed role as the preserver of India's handicrafts, and with it of "traditional" India.¹⁶

India and the English Crafts Movement

As museum collections and exhibitions gave British designers an ever greater familiarity with Indian craft work, they turned increasingly to India for confirmation of their own critique of mid-Victorian British industrial design. In the eyes of the Victorian upper middle class, although the industrial revolution had raised Britain to the position of the most powerful nation on earth and had secured their own prosperity, it had at the same time brought with it an evil ugliness in design, and the degradation of labor. Two men—John Ruskin and William Morris—most forcefully articulated this dissatisfaction with the industrial world. Both insisted that repetitive factory labor, with the pursuit of money alone, destroyed the spirit of man. Though Ruskin was a social conservative, and Morris a socialist, both advocated a return to the independent workman, creative and self-sufficient, who took pride in his craft. We must, Ruskin argued, sacrifice "such convenience, or beauty, or cheapness as is to be got only by the degradation of the workman" in favor of "the products and results of healthy and ennobling labour."¹⁷ Morris was, if anything, even more outspoken. Man must replace "degrading" labor, he wrote in *The Art of the People*, with work conceived in the spirit of the village carpenter or

blacksmith. "Every day the hammer chinked on the anvil, and the chisel played about the oak beam, and never without some beauty and invention being born of it, and consequently some human happiness." With such work too would be sown, he argued, "the seed of real art, the expression of man's happiness in his labour,—an art made by the people, and for the people, as a happiness to the maker and the user."¹⁸

In the Middle Ages Ruskin and Morris found enshrined the values they cherished. There alone was society bound by ties of community that "allowed the workman freedom of individual expression . . . which our social life forbids him." For that reason too the art of the Middle Ages was "a popular, living, and progressive art." Such a view of the nature of medieval life was of course part of the larger currents of nineteenth-century romanticism and Anglo-Catholic revivalism. Yet for men like Morris it served an avowed political purpose—to push forward an attack upon a modern industrial society "hag-ridden by the necessity for producing ever more and more market-wares for a profit, whether anyone needs them or not."¹⁹ Though as a socialist Morris sought a revolution to usher in a society that "will produce to live, and not live to produce, as we do," still his romantic and backward-looking challenge to contemporary liberalism brought him close to those who sought simply to stem the tide of Victorian social change—to preserve distinctions of status and custom, and to assert the power of the Crown, the landed elite, and the state. The arts and crafts movement was inevitably part of the Tory revival, triggered by the 1874 election of Disraeli, of the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

The visible manifestation of medieval society was the Gothic cathedral. Not only did the structure itself symbolize the community and its religious sensibility, but Gothic as an architectural style was viewed as expressive, natural, and above all the work of free craftsmen. In Ruskin's view classical architecture, which aimed at perfection of execution according to a series of clearly defined rules, was the work of slaves, forced to do precisely as they were told. The medieval craftsman, by contrast, observed nature and sought to represent it with as much accuracy as his knowledge and materials permitted. No attempt was made to reach perfection; indeed, Ruskin insisted, one must "never encourage the manufacture of any article not absolutely necessary, in the production of which *Invention* has no share."²⁰

The Middle Ages did not, however, alone embody the spirit of craftsmanship that Ruskin and Morris sought. The Great Exhibition had shown

that India too had brought crafts production to a high level of skill; subsequent displays of its art wares "bade us look at an art at once beautiful, orderly, living in our own day, and above all, popular." Like those of the Middle Ages, India's arts, Morris proclaimed, were "founded on the truest and most natural principles."²¹ But India was also vastly different even from medieval Europe. However much Englishmen might criticize the evils of the industrial era, they saw in their society at once the spirit of progress and the measure of progress everywhere. Evolutionary theory reinforced and at the same time gave a scientific validity to this sense of pride. India by contrast, compared with the remarkable achievements of a "progressive" Britain, had visibly changed but little in the preceding centuries. Inevitably, therefore, it increasingly took on the appearance of a "timeless" land, of a "medieval" society still alive in the "modern" world. India too, as an "Oriental" society enshrining at its heart the values of a repellent religion, was profoundly alien to the Victorian sensibility. As Ruskin had made clear in his 1858 address, and others continued to reiterate long after the horrors of that year, Indian inability to represent the human figure properly in art reflected not just aesthetic differences but the "moral" shortcomings of an entire society. "The feeling of the dignity of humanity," remarked the *Builder* in 1883, "must surely be low among such a people."²² India, in short, could never become England, nor could India's art be accepted on the same terms as Europe's.

Still, as India, like England, had been settled by Aryan peoples, the Englishman could find there much of his own past. This was not just a matter of art or styles of craft work, but of basic social institutions as well. Of these the most central was the village community. Its features first discerned in the 1820s by Charles Metcalfe in the villages around Delhi, the village community secured, in his view, the survival of "traditional" India. Here past and present ran together, and the villagers worked, each at his own appointed task, in a world defined by unvarying custom and unaffected by the passage of invaders. This conception was further elaborated by Henry Maine, Law member of the Viceroy's Council during the 1860s. In a series of influential volumes, most notably *Ancient Law* (1861) and *Village Communities in the East and West* (1871), he demonstrated how the Indian village, participating in a shared Aryan heritage, represented England's past to itself. Extremely "ancient" and "complex" in its structure, Maine wrote, India's social constitution was organized into a vast number of independent, self-acting "organic groups," who regulated their affairs by a "great body of unwritten cus-

tom, differing locally in detail, but connected by common general features." This customary law, with the village communities whose interests it embodied, had been preserved, Maine asserted, "during a number of centuries which it would be vain to calculate." As a result, the "actual working of the Indian village communities" continued up to the present to be "identical" with the "ancient European systems of enjoyment and tillage by men grouped in village communities."²³

Taking issue with Maine, George Birdwood derived India's social organization, not from "some body of unwritten custom," but directly from the ancient Hindu Code of Manu. This body of Sanskrit law, in his view, at once established the essentials of the caste system and set in place the enduring village system. The result, however, was the same: an "invincible immobility" which had enabled the Indians to weather the "long series of ethnical convulsions which ended in the destruction of the Roman and Persian Empires" with little more than the superficial change of dynasties.²⁴ This stability had, as well, enabled the Indians to hand down unchanged "the industrial arts of antiquity through 5,000 years to modern times." For so often, argued J. Forbes Royle, echoing Metcalfe, "as the storm of conquest has swept over the plains of India, we yet see the arts continuing to flourish in the very places where they had attained their pristine excellence. Something of this is no doubt due to the system of castes, but also to the Hindoos bending like willows to the storm and to their returning to the village lands, in which so many have a share, when it has passed over."²⁵

This complex ordering of society had preserved India's crafts over the centuries, but at the same time it had disabled the country's artisans from participating in the "advancement of art." Under this system, as Birdwood observed, while "the whole community is provided for [with] every man in it in his ordered place and provision," so that the craftsman "knows nothing of the desperate struggle for existence which oppresses the life and crushes the very soul out of the English working man," still "there is no stimulus to individual exertion, and the mass of the population are only too well contented to go on for ever in the same old fashioned conservative ways as their fathers from time immemorial before them." To be sure, as Forbes Royle insisted, such was the degree of excellence of India's arts that despite "remaining stationary at points which they seem to have reached ages ago," they remained often still in advance of other nations. Nevertheless, the "stagnant character" of his society made it impossible for the Indian artist ever to progress.²⁶

As Ruskin and Morris elaborated their ideal medieval community to counter the disruption brought about by the modern industrial world, so too, for men like Maine, was the notion of the Indian village community charged with a political meaning. The progression from "status to contract," in Maine's words, had already destroyed the English crafts community. In India too, argued Maine and Morris alike, the modern legal system of the Raj, with its unleashing of liberal individualism, threatened to snap the ties of custom that bound together this still "medieval" society. At the same time the integration of India into the world economy opened up its villages to a flood of machine-made imports, undercut the crafts guilds, and drove India's artisans to produce ever more cheaply. The "beautiful works of the East," lamented Morris, before an audience of English craftsmen, are "fast disappearing before the advance of Western conquest and commerce—fast, and every day faster."²⁷ Nor were India's crafts alone imperiled. As George Birdwood insisted, the "unrestricted development of the competitive impulse," such as had already occurred in European life in the pursuit of personal gain, was "absolutely antagonistic to the growth of the sentiment of humanity, and of real religious convictions among men."²⁸ What had taken place in the English countryside from the eighteenth century onward, in sum, was happening a century later in India. This parallelism was, for the crafts reformers, at once visible and alarming.

British rule could, however, as it precipitated the decline of India's crafts, at the same time arrest it. The Empire could, as the crafts enthusiasts perceived, be a force for the preservation as well as the destruction of India's village society: all that was required was a change in its direction and purpose. Even those like Morris who disliked its extension in war and rapine found attractive an empire that sustained traditional values. With Disraeli, whose creation of Victoria as Empress of India symbolized this vision, the crafts enthusiasts valued the political culture of a princely and landed India; they invited the participation of the British public in a mission to control the historical process and so to preserve that "medieval" society. To be sure, the task would not be an easy one, for, as Morris wrote, the "general tendency of civilization" was against it. By themselves "the lovers of Eastern and Indian Art," even though they might include many of Britain's "governing classes," were "utterly powerless" to stay the downward course. Success required that England itself be "in a healthy state," and this in turn could come about only when a wholesale alteration in their attitude toward work, greed, and art had taken

hold of the British people.²⁹ Hence the leaders of the English crafts movement found their appointed tasks at home. Indeed, they rarely incorporated Indian design motifs into their work.³⁰ For men like Morris it was sufficient simply that India existed.

Though the reform of India's art lay outside the range of their interests, still for Morris, Ruskin, and the other leaders of the crafts movement, India's example helped to reinforce powerfully the message they sought to bring to the British people. Above all, it provided a model of a society that kept alive to the present those values they labored to revive in Britain. At the same time the decline under British rule even of India's village communities demonstrated anew the corrosive influence of modernity. Then, too, although the leaders of the crafts movement themselves declined to combat the forces of change in India, they inspired others—art teachers, museum directors, and civil servants—to take up the challenge. In the place of the liberal vision of an empire based on English education, social reform, and individual enterprise, the arts and crafts movement helped provide the underpinning for an alternate conception of empire—one that found justification for England's mission in the East in the preservation of India's "traditional" society.

The Crafts Movement in India

Inspired by India's success at the 1851 exhibition, and yet disturbed by the flood of cheap English imports into the country, the Indian government during the subsequent decade established art schools at the three presidency capitals. In Madras and Bombay the initial impetus came from private patrons—in Bombay the philanthropic Parsi Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, who contributed an endowment of a lakh of rupees—but the schools were all soon taken under the control of the Department of Public Instruction. They remained for some years poorly funded and staffed; on one occasion, in 1893, the government even sought, unsuccessfully, to abolish them on the ground that they served no useful purpose. Yet the schools remained always important, for they provided the major institutional base for art education in India. Whoever controlled them was in a position to define the nature of the discourse on art in India. With the rise of the crafts movement two contending conceptions of art, and how art should serve empire, began a struggle for dominance that marked the entire last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Organized on the model of the art schools then being founded in Britain, the Indian schools had as their objective "improving the taste of the native public as regards beauty of form and finish in the articles of daily use among them."³¹ From the outset, however, there was no consensus over how this ought best to be achieved. For the most part the schools were divided into two sections: one—an "industrial department"—organized as a workshop for the manufacture of bricks, pottery, and the like for the government or for sale; the other an art side that taught geometry and drawing to students who took up employment as draftsmen, often for the Public Works Department. The art instruction, in a manner similar to the literary instruction in the ordinary government schools, was based upon European principles, which had as their main objective the accurate representation of nature. At the Madras School of Art, when he took charge of it in 1884, E. B. Havell remarked some years later, "Indian ideas of design were, to a certain extent, encouraged on the craft side of the school, but in the drawing classes, which all the students attended, Indian art was tabooed, and the usual examples of a South Kensington School of Art—the casts from the antique, the drawing copies, etc.—were placed before them, and a collection of European paintings belonging to the Madras Fine Arts Society was hung in the picture gallery." The Calcutta school, when Havell came to it twelve years later, was even more thoroughly Western in its orientation. It resembled, he wrote, "a fourth-rate provincial art school in England thirty years ago." Moreover, unlike Madras, where a "fair proportion" of the students were of the artisanal castes, "in Calcutta the students were for the most part sons of Bengali teachers, clerks, and small landed proprietors, who either from want of means, or other reasons, had no prospect of Government employment through a university career."³²

The interests of European teachers and Indian students alike converged to give the schools this shape. For the Indian student of the mid-Victorian era, brought up under the Macaulay system of English education and overwhelmed by the prideful power of his conqueror, his "highest ambition" was, not surprisingly, to "learn as much as possible of European art, or rather to imitate as faithfully as possible the European examples which the school provided." In Calcutta, particularly, a "considerable section of the best students joined only for the purpose of learning picture painting," and they sought recognition at the Simla Fine Arts Exhibition, the "Royal Academy of Anglo-India."³³ Nor was this outcome at all uncongenial to the teaching staff. Indeed, moved by the ideal of a

transformed India, they had little sympathy for Indian art, which they regarded, like the Hindu religion of which it was a part, as a product of barbarism and superstition, hence not worth encouragement. Yet to teach drawing only in the European fashion, with its classical concern with the human figure, was incompatible with the schools' larger mission. As R. F. Chisholm, head of the Madras school in the 1870s, pointed out, to take the students into figure drawing would "destroy any lingering of native art that might exist, because it would be impossible, after teaching a student anatomy to set him down to draw six arms on a single body, or to study flesh tones in the green or pink incarnations of Vishnu."³⁴

Where the schools did not work at cross-purposes with their objectives, they were often simply ineffectual. The students at the Bombay school under John Griffiths, for instance, were set to work to copy the Ajanta frescoes, and to sketch and measure the ancient monuments of western India; though this, it was argued, would make possible the reproduction of these works should the originals be destroyed or decay, it obviously did not encourage artistic originality or creativity on the part of the students. For the most part, furthermore, even when they came from families of craftsmen, the students "had no intention of following the crafts of their fathers," but rather sought employment in government or professional offices and "disdained to work with their hands."³⁵ By the early 1870s the ineffectiveness of the schools had become so evident that in Madras the institution only barely survived the scrutiny of a special committee established to consider its fate. The discouraged R. F. Chisholm, dissenting from the recommendation to continue the school, reported that he "could not find on the educational side a single student continuing an artistic career after leaving the institution," while on the industrial side "there was nothing being made that could not have been made on the outside."³⁶

In 1875 John Lockwood Kipling, father of the poet and for the preceding ten years professor of architectural sculpture at the Bombay school, was appointed to head a new art school in Lahore. Established, like the Mayo College in Ajmer, as a memorial to the slain viceroy, and amply endowed, this school under Kipling's direction took the lead in giving Indian art education a new direction during the subsequent quarter century.³⁷ Three years later, in 1878, an international exhibition in Paris, for which the three older schools supplied the bulk of the Indian displays, gave the European art world an opportunity to assess once again India's

crafts production. Despite an impressive pavilion, the judgment was not favorable. In a massive petition, William Morris, Walter Crane, Edward Burne-Jones, R. Norman Shaw, Philip Webb, and a number of other prominent arts and crafts artists "lamented the rapid deterioration of the great historical arts of India" and went on to place the blame not only on the commercialization of village crafts but on "the manner in which they are now being dealt with by Europeans that are brought into contact with the Asiatic workmen" in the schools.³⁸

Trained at South Kensington under Henry Cole, Kipling was well suited to pioneer the introduction into India of a new style of design. In his early years at Bombay he had already had his students incorporate Indian motifs into the architectural details for otherwise Gothic public buildings such as the Victoria Terminus railway station. From the outset he sought also to secure students "direct from the native town" who had not previously studied at the art school. First in Bombay and subsequently in Lahore, he began by a close observation of village craftsmen at work and then sought to duplicate that mode of work in the school, which taught wood carving, furniture making, and metal and other decorative handicrafts.³⁹ All of this of course accorded perfectly with the ideals of Morris and the English crafts movement.

Though eager also to "check" the "degradation" of Indian crafts, the government sought as well to make these art wares commercially successful and to widen the overseas market for them. Always—whether in its patronage of museums, exhibitions, or publications—the government's promotion of a "better knowledge" of Indian crafts was, as E. C. Buck of the Revenue Department wrote in 1883, shaped by "a view both of increasing the demand for them and of facilitating their supply through the agency of traders in Oriental works."⁴⁰ For this enterprise Kipling and his fellow crafts enthusiasts cared but little. Indeed, to the contrary, in their view commercialization brought in its wake the imitative copying, cheapening of workmanship, and eclecticism of design that were destroying precisely the "traditional" styles, representative of distinct regions and peoples, that they wished to preserve.

The Indian government nevertheless did much to further the crafts movement. Not only did they bring together collections of crafts for exhibition elsewhere, but they themselves mounted two major exhibitions—in Calcutta in 1883 and in Delhi in 1903, on the occasion of Curzon's coronation durbar—and for some thirty years, from 1884 to

1917, they helped sponsor publication of the lavishly illustrated *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*. This journal, as is evidenced by its placement under Buck's Revenue and Agricultural Department, was meant as much to promote the trade in "art manufactures" as to establish a "higher standard of taste" for them.⁴¹ Still it provided a forum, which the crafts enthusiasts were not slow to take advantage of, in which to propagate their views. Lockwood Kipling contributed an article, "The Brass and Copper Ware of the Punjab," to the very first number; over the years he and other crafts enthusiasts filled many pages with meticulously detailed accounts of a wide variety of "artwares." Through the *Journal* each, from Multan pottery to Burmese silver work, could be defined, illustrated, and so preserved.

Similarly, although the government's support of the art schools was often fitful and halfhearted, when the India Office in London sought in 1893 to use the occasion of Kipling's retirement to close them, the Indian authorities, led by E. C. Buck, leapt to their defense. An Art Conference, convened in Lahore, indignantly insisted that the schools "have served a most useful purpose, in not only providing art masters and highly trained draughtsmen to meet the wants of the public service, as well as highly trained craftsmen, but that they have had a most beneficial effect in protecting the arts and artisans of the country from the extraneous and dangerous influences to which the conditions of modern life, and the facilities of interchange of ideas, have subjected them."⁴²

Despite their success in securing government support, the crafts enthusiasts were never wholly in agreement as to whether government intervention, no matter how well intentioned, could appropriately advance their objectives. While Kipling saw in the art schools enclaves where the old crafts, though perhaps adapted to "European uses," could be preserved in their "traditional" purity of design, others, above all George Birdwood, insisted that the schools were inevitably contaminated by their association with the government and its commercial objectives. The best policy, he argued, was to leave India's craftsmen "alone, and severely alone, to pursue in their own markets . . . the artistic industries in which their excellence had been recognised from the beginnings of the authentic history of the Old World." Though willing to collaborate with sympathetically inclined men like Kipling, he preferred to see Indian art taught by Indians, in keeping with the "traditional practice" defined by the caste system and the laws of Manu.⁴³

The "destructive influences of the outer world" were most effectively held at bay, so Birdwood conceived, in one refuge: the princely states. There, he wrote, "the life of the people continues, in all its phases, established firmly on its original religious basis, and the vernacular arts yet flourish in pristine purity." The chief value indeed of the native states, in his view, was "as vast preserves of the traditionary arts of India."⁴⁴ For the late-nineteenth-century Englishman the preservation of the princely states and of "traditional" crafts went hand in hand.

Yet the princes responded unenthusiastically to the call to encourage India's crafts. Forced by the British, for reasons of economy and morality, to curtail their historic forms of art patronage, and uncertain how to proceed in the new colonial environment, the princes for the most part did little, and that mostly along lines laid down by their British patrons. Most active perhaps were the successive maharajas of Jaipur. In 1866 Maharaja Ram Singh founded in Jaipur a School of Art staffed by teachers sent from the Madras school. Unfortunately, these southerners "could not make themselves understood to the students" and so were replaced by a north Indian staff. The school flourished, nevertheless; at the end of the century it was offering instruction to 150 students in some fourteen crafts at an annual cost to the maharaja of Rs. 12,000.⁴⁵ In 1883 the young Maharaja Madho Singh organized an exhibition at Jaipur which brought together, along with arms, books, and carpets lent by the ruler, some ten thousand items of "art manufacture" and "Raw Produce." Subsequently the maharaja had published a four-volume work containing nearly four hundred illustrations of the "most valuable and artistic exhibits."⁴⁶

In all these projects, though they won the Jaipur maharaja much praise, his European officers, above all his executive engineer, Swinton Jacob, and the successive residency surgeons, W. F. deFabeck and T. H. Hendley, played the central role. Though the art school was headed by an Indian from 1875, it owed its foundation as an effective teaching institution to deFabeck; Hendley organized the 1883 exhibition; deFabeck and Jacob together supplied the design for the decorative carving erected by the school on various public buildings.⁴⁷ DeFabeck and Jacob similarly trained the artisans employed to build the Albert Hall Museum and to work as draftsmen on the *Portfolio of Architectural Details*. Clearly, even in the princely states, though much continued to be done in the old ways, the crafts movement as an organized enterprise was the product of

English initiative. It gained the support of rulers for much the same reason they patronized Indo-Saracenic architecture: so that they might appear "enlightened" in the eyes of the British, whose approbation they sought.⁴⁸

The crafts enthusiasts were themselves aware of the anomaly that a movement dedicated to the encouragement of India's art should be wholly led by Englishmen. But there was, they frankly admitted, "no compelling movement from within the country." To send English art experts to India to teach Indian art might seem, Havell acknowledged, like "sending coals to Newcastle." But, he said, "Indian art has fallen into such contempt with English-educated Indians that it has hitherto been almost impossible to find an Indian who is at the same time fully acquainted with Indian art tradition, and has sufficient knowledge of English to write departmental reports about it for the information of the Government."⁴⁹ It was not of course so simple as that. Throughout, the arts and crafts movement reflected English, not Indian, concerns. Those, like Kipling, who sought to sustain what they saw as India's "traditional" crafts drew upon a conception of "India" grounded in the theories of such men as Maine and Metcalf; hence what they set out to preserve they sought in practice to remake in the image of these theories and in accordance with a larger vision of empire that saw Britain presiding over a "traditional" India.

The English journal *The Builder* saw clearly the implications for India of the crafts enterprise. "We can see, in imagination," they wrote of the proposals for exhibit collections as laid out in the *Journal of Indian Art*, "the 'approved example,' painfully elaborated by Ram Shastri under the advice of the local committee, working its way up, in a series of 'duplicate examples,' to the provincial and finally to the three presidency museums, there to be ticketed and labelled as an illustration of Indian art reformed on true principles, under the fostering care of a paternal government." In short, they concluded, "India, *en masse*, is to be *South Kensingtonised*."⁵⁰ As with Indo-Saracenic architecture, so too did the arts and crafts movement involve English "experts" telling the Indians what their heritage consisted of. Unlike Indo-Saracenic architecture, however, which roused little enthusiasm in England, India's crafts had first to journey to London before they could gain recognition in India's museums and art schools.

The respect accorded India's crafts was not bestowed on its fine arts. Most outspoken in his condemnation was perhaps George Birdwood, who asserted that he had never "through an experience of seventy-eight

years" found any Indian art that sought to give "perfected form to the artist's own ideals of 'the good, the beautiful, and the true,'" and he went on, in a memorable phrase, to compare an image of the Buddha to a "boiled suet pudding."⁵¹ Nor was this a personal idiosyncrasy. No one, complained the young critic A. K. Coomaraswamy in 1910, as the climate of criticism was beginning to shift, "going for the first time into the Indian section of the South Kensington Museum was likely to come away with any special feeling of respect for, or any enlarged comprehension of, the expression of Indian thought and feeling in art. The Museum was rather an emporium of industrial art . . . than an effective record of India's creative imagination." And, he continued, the situation was the same in India. "At the Bombay School of Art, where students might be observed making shadings from antique casts, and drawings of Gothic or pseudo-classic architecture, there was not a single good specimen of medieval Indian painting or sculpture; and so far as painting was concerned the same was true of the Madras Museum and School of Art."⁵²

Disparagement of India's fine arts was not simply a product of the limited objectives of the crafts enthusiasts. These of course played a part, especially for those, like Morris, whose interests lay primarily in England and who had but little interest in fine art of any sort. In India, however, larger issues were at stake. For the late-Victorian Englishman the "whole organization of social life in India" was "theocratic" in character. Inevitably, therefore, its art was embedded in, and expressed the values of, the religious community that had created it. Birdwood put it forthrightly when he said of India's art that it was "but the outward token and indeed the sacramental symbol" of that "still sacro-sanct" society. The art, society, and religion of the Hindu people were all intimately interconnected. It was not possible to appreciate the art without taking into account the religious system that had created it. Inasmuch as the Puranic deities were "monstrous shapes," wrote Birdwood, they were "unsuitable for the higher forms of artistic representation," with the inevitable result that sculpture and painting were "unknown, as fine arts, in India." H. H. Cole too argued that the quality of imagination "which pervades the existence of the Hindu and causes the history of his religion to melt into tradition" precluded anything other than a purely decorative art among this people.⁵³

Only in the era of its "archaic beginnings," before the Aryan "genius" had been "darkened and polluted" by its assimilation to the Turanian races, could true art, in this view, be found in India. Fergusson, as

we have seen, had found attractive only the work of the ancient Buddhist builders. The artists of the Islamic era too could create fine art, for they were untainted by the Turanian spirit. Indeed, among the Afghans and Mongols from Persia could be found, wrote Birdwood, the "lovelier, nobler forms of trees and flowers . . . springing from the love and worship of nature intuitive in the Aryas." The Hindu by contrast might possess considerable ability in "quaintness of coloring" and "clever harmonious combinations," with an ornamentation "full of fancy," but, Cole warned, "directly a native artist departs from ornamental forms and gets beyond geometrical patterns or conventionalised foliation, whether in painting or in sculpture, he displays his want of greater power to delineate nature."⁵⁴

Yet the accurate representation of "Nature" was hardly the real issue. At best one can argue that the Victorian critic's insistence that art must mimic nature gave him, as he confronted India, an unshakable self-assurance. What was at stake was not aesthetics but politics: the power to represent, and thus to control, "India." To acknowledge the existence of Indian fine art outside the safely distanced realm of ancient monuments would be to accept an unsettling equivalence of the Hindu social order, whose values this art was deemed to express, with European high culture. Birdwood and Kipling had, to be sure, abandoned the attempt to transform India on a European model. But they were by no means prepared to abdicate their own moral superiority and with it the predominance of Europe. The work of the artisanal craftsman alone posed no threat to the supremacy of the Raj, so it alone could secure the patronage of those who sought to succor India's art. The rest—whether of architecture or sculpture—was mere "barbarism."

Arts and Crafts Architecture

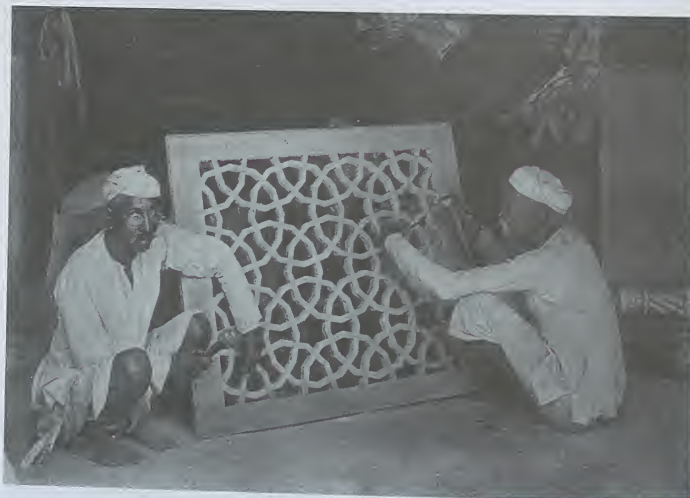
In building as in crafts, men like Fergusson and Kipling saw in India a tradition of "living craftsmanship" threatened with "extinction" by the "spread of European fashions" and the work of imitative, rule-bound bureaucrats. So early as 1866, surveying its history, James Fergusson had argued that in India architecture was "still a living art" and that consequently one could see there "at the present day buildings as important in size as our medieval cathedrals erected by master masons on precisely the

same principle and in the same manner that guided our medieval masons to such glorious results."⁵⁵ Some forty years later E. B. Havell echoed the same point of view. Unlike the "confused jumble of archeological ideas borrowed from the buildings of former times" which shaped contemporary European architecture, in India, he said, architecture remained "a living art down to the present day" because "the master-mason is both builder and architect, just as he was in Europe in the Middle Ages." In his *History of Indian Architecture*, published in 1913, Havell discerned a host of modern Indian buildings fit for praise. Among them were the royal palaces of Jaipur, Dig, and even Lucknow; but the finest buildings, and the most vital building traditions, he argued, were to be found away from the capital cities—in the domestic architecture of Rajasthan, and in the temples that lined the banks of the Ganges at Benares and Hardwar. To find anything in Europe to compare with these temples "for largeness of design combined with perfection of craftsmanship," he insisted, "one would have to go back to the early days of the Renaissance in Rome or Florence"; and the modern houses of such towns as Bikaner were, some of them, "truly as fine as any Mogul Emperor's palace."⁵⁶

In 1911, at the request of the India Society, Gordon Sanderson of the Archaeological Survey made a survey of the modern buildings of northern India. He too concluded, in a report filled with nearly a hundred photographs of palaces, mosques, temples, and modest residences, that architecture, especially in Rajasthan, remained the "living" product of an organic and integrated society, which still possessed "excellent master craftsmen in plenty."⁵⁷ He carefully described the way these builders went about their work. In Delhi, for instance, the *dharmasala* of Chunna Mall "was built under the supervision of Nurū, *mistri*, who did not receive any regular pay but charged commission, *dusturi*, on all the materials purchased for the building. His commission, according to the owner, amounted to about Rs. 20 or 25 per month. In return, he spent a few hours daily at the building, gave instructions to the masons for the next day's work, and paid them. Such *mistris* at Delhi usually have several works going on at once. They make rough plans showing the arrangements of the rooms, and, for important buildings, sometimes prepare a front elevation."⁵⁸ Kipling too had earlier described the methods of the "mistry, or native builder and architect." Drawings, he wrote, "are seldom to scale, perspectives are unknown, and the details are not carefully made out, for, as the mistry superintends the work himself, he does not

think it necessary to elaborate on paper parts which will be better understood when they come to be worked *in situ*. Yet, empirical as the practice usually is, it must not be supposed that things are left to chance-hap. The eye and the memory seem to have grown independent of the elaborate system of detail drawings common in Europe, and though such drawings are looked upon by the native workman with more respect than they are always entitled to, he sees no need to emulate them."⁵⁹ (See fig. 39.)

The official building of the Public Works Department by contrast received nothing but scorn. The crafts enthusiasts objected not only to the use of European styles, but above all to the degradation of the Indian "master-builder." By the department's rules no architectural designer could secure employment under the government without a certificate from the Engineering College at Roorkee; yet, Kipling reported in astonishment, as this college had no Oriental department, "not a single native draughtsman turned out from this school has been taught the architecture of the country."⁶⁰ F. S. Growse was even more pungent. The

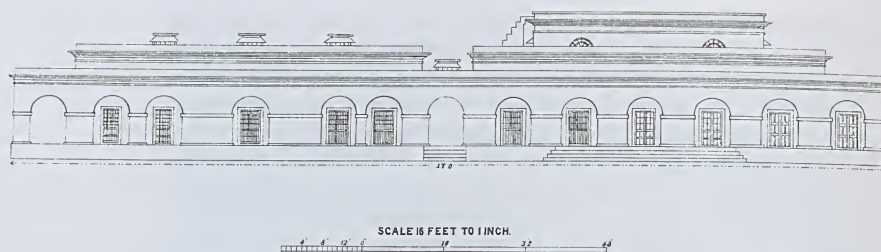


39. Craftsmen at work on a jaali screen, Agra. From *Types of Modern Indian Buildings* (1913).

mistri, or indigenous architect, he wrote, "may be a skilled craftsman whose work is of sufficient merit to be transported at great expense across the sea and set up for admiration in New York or London; but in India he cannot be trusted to design or carry out the most petty work in the smallest village: the reason being that he has spent the whole of his life in acquiring a practical mastery of his art, and therefore had no time to study English and in due course obtain an engineering certificate."⁶¹

The official architect, Havell said, describing the procedures of the Public Works Department, "sits in his office at Simla, Calcutta, or Bombay, surrounded by pattern books of styles . . . and, having calculated precisely the dimensions and arrangement of a building suited to departmental requirements, offers for approval a choice of the 'styles' which please him or his superiors. . . . When these preliminaries are settled, a set of paper patterns is prepared and contractors are invited to undertake to get these patterns worked out to proper scale and in the regulation materials. Then, at last, the Indian craftsman is called in to assist in the operations, under the supervision of the contractor and the subordinate Public Works officials, who check any tendency the craftsman may show to use his imagination or his intelligence in anything beyond copying the departmental paper patterns." In the process the Indian artisan is reduced to the same state as the artisan in Europe: "a mechanic who works listlessly for the wages he earns and has no interest in anything beyond his earnings."⁶²

Perhaps the worst part of departmental design, in the eyes of its crafts critics, were the "standard plans" provided at headquarters for every class of public buildings. These, wrote Growse, "are forced upon universal acceptance throughout the length and breadth of the province, with little or no regard to local conditions as regards material, or the habits of the people, or the capacity of the workmen." A "fairly typical" sample, in his view, was the design of the Bulandshahr law courts (fig. 40). "The facade, which is 170 feet in length, may be adequately described as a long low wall pierced with a uniform row of round-headed cavities. There is no porch, nor any other feature by which to distinguish the front from the back, nor on either side is any one doorway marked off from its fellows as a main entrance. The design would answer equally well, or indeed much better for a dry goods store, a barrack, or a factory."⁶³ "There are hundreds of such buildings in India," echoed Kipling, in "Indian Architecture of Today," where, "cut up into longer or shorter lengths, they



40. Design of Bulandshahr law courts. From *JIA*, no. 3 (1884).

The design is also reproduced in Growse, *Bulandshahr* (1884).

serve for law courts, schools, municipal halls, dak bungalows, barracks, post offices and other needs of our high civilization.”⁶⁴

Confronted with such buildings, Growse, an outspoken Indian Civil Service officer never loath to defy authority, determined himself to “stem the tide of utilitarian barbarism.” Though not trained in architecture or crafts design—he had an M.A. from Oxford—Growse set out in the districts where he held charge, first in Mathura from 1870 to 1877, and then in Bulandshahr, where he was collector from 1878 to 1884, to erect public buildings conceived in the spirit of Ruskin and constructed wholly by local artisan-builders. In Mathura, Growse’s most notable structure was the Indo-Saracenic-styled Roman Catholic church discussed earlier. In Bulandshahr, however, Growse initiated a “rebuilding” that, as he put it, made of that “mean little place” the “most architectural modern town of its size in the Province.”⁶⁵ During his stay, as he sought to realize a vision both playful and Mughal-like, he reconstructed the market square, built a bathing ghat on the river bank, laid out a public garden and tank, and began construction of a new town hall, which he was unable to complete; in the outlying municipality of Khurja, the district’s commercial center, he built a new marketplace and bazaar. Together, these structures, with their conscious use of indigenous methods of construction, represent perhaps the most sustained effort undertaken in India to incorporate the ideals of the arts and crafts movement into architecture.

Sensitive to the needs of its Indian residents, Growse sought, in reconstructing the Bulandshahr marketplace, to provide a focus for the life of this “picturesque” town so similar, as he saw it, to its “medieval English” counterpart (fig. 41). In the center of the square he raised a brick



41. Bulandshahr market square. From Growse, *Bulandshahr*. Slightly different

views are found in *JIA*, no. 3 (1884), and in Growse, *Indian Architecture of Today* (1886).

terrace with carved stone lampposts at the four corners. Besides its market-day purpose, the terrace served as a stage for the annual Dus-sehra “Ram Lila” production. The well at one end of the terrace, “a very favourite one with the people,” he enclosed with an “elegant” pierced-stone screen; next to it he erected a stone cell for the accommodation of a Brahmin, who dispensed drinking water to passersby. Above the cell he built a hexagonal masonry shaft decorated with tiers of little niches in which lighted lamps were placed at times of civic illuminations. Along one side of the square Growse erected a range of double-storied buildings, with a richly ornamented stone facade, containing shops at ground level and bankers’ offices above.⁶⁶

The riverside ghat, more Mughal in appearance, had as its centerpiece four octagonal towers marking the corners of a large stone platform from which broad stairs gave access to the street above and the river below. The platform was used as a stage for theatrical performances during the Holi festival, and as a site for fireworks displays. Each tower was finished off at the top with brackets and eaves and surmounted by a rounded open kiosk with a domed roof rising some fifty-two feet above the ground.⁶⁷ The town hall, in contrast to the "plain masses of brick and mortar" of the standard Public Works Department structure, Growse intended as "a complete epitome of all the indigenous arts and industries of the neighborhood." As a result, in addition to an unusual design incorporating a verandah of double-columned cusped arches terminating in a circular apse, the building was ornamented with "elaborate" carpentry and stone work. Most notable was a set of doors with inlaid panels and carved frame, whose design, he proudly wrote, was "entirely an idea of my own, no doors of the kind having ever yet been set up in a native house though the details and fittings are all strictly Indian in character."⁶⁸

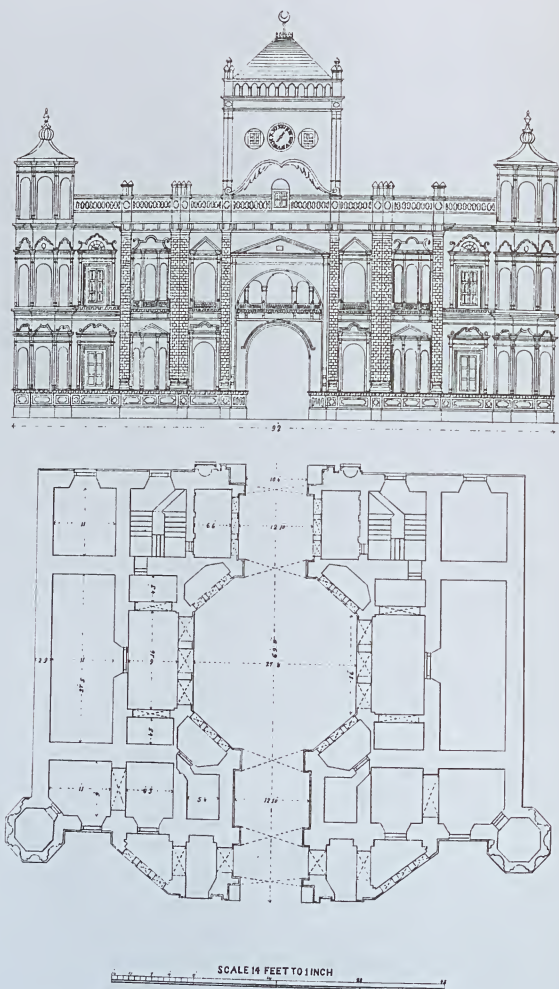
Growse's rebuilding of Bulandshahr won him much praise among the Indian crafts enthusiasts, for, as Purdon Clarke told the Society of Arts, it "fully illustrates the latent power for true art work which exists in even the most unpromising of Indian towns."⁶⁹ Yet, despite his successes, Growse found himself frustrated at every turn. From the outset he had conceived of his activities as a challenge to the bureaucratic routine of the Public Works Department. Hence, not surprisingly, he had to contend with that department's hostility as they sought to confine his works within their regulations. Nor was the support of the "aesthetes of South Kensington" of much help. They have, Growse grumbled, "little direct patronage" even in England, and "none whatever" in India, where "the only official patron of art is the head of the Public Works Department, to whom all such matters are ultimately referred."⁷⁰ Unlike the art schools and museums, which the crafts enthusiasts over time successfully brought under their control, the Public Works Department was too big, too entrenched in the government bureaucracy, and too well connected to be reshaped in their image. Indeed, to the contrary, an embittered Growse ascribed his peremptory transfers and lack of promotion to his enemies' influence over the senior officials, especially the lieutenant-governor, Sir Alfred Lyall.⁷¹

To finance his projects Growse sought instead the support of the local gentry and merchants. From the beginning, in Mathura, where he se-

cured nearly Rs. 3,000 for the Catholic church from Hindu contributors, Growse found the Indian elite willing patrons of his building activities.⁷² In Bulandshahr he collected by public subscription some Rs. 12,700 for the bathing ghat, and a further Rs. 14,800 for a masonry reservoir called the Lyall Tank, while the Rs. 30,000 needed for the town hall was contributed by one wealthy landowner, Raja Baqir Ali Khan of Pindrawal.⁷³ Yet the enthusiasm of the local gentry for these schemes never matched Growse's own. Many gave him support simply because they knew such benevolence was expected of them by their British rulers, whose favor they wished always to retain. At the same time, however, or so it would seem from Growse's account, the Bulandshahr gentry recognized that their collector's views on architecture did not accord with those of his superiors. Hence, when Growse urged indigenous styles upon them, they rebelled. "The works which are carried out under your direction, however pleasing in themselves," one replied, "have the one fatal drawback that they are not stamped with official approval. . . . Nothing in the same style is ever undertaken by Government. Your buildings fitly express your own peculiarity of temperament, but the personal predilection for Indian forms is only a weakness or eccentricity." As Growse resignedly concluded, despite their liberality in supplying funds for his activities, the "native gentry . . . were always inclined to suspect them of being rather risky enterprises to engage in, and quite irreconcilable with departmental precedents."⁷⁴

For themselves the local gentry sought to incorporate European as well as Indian styles into their buildings. Growse, oblivious of his own stylistic idiosyncrasies, reacted with distaste. In his view, the gentry had abandoned the "most graceful" conceptions of home growth for a "shocking travesty" of foreign models (fig. 42). As he wrote of one such structure—the entrance gateway at Danpur—"the incongruous quasi-Indian plinth, in conjunction with an attenuated order of tall rusticated pilasters supporting imitation chimneypots, and the clumsy carpentry of the windows with their jerky and most ungainly dressing and ill-proportioned pediments, make up a *tout ensemble* which for rococo vulgarity could scarcely be surpassed." Another gateway he disparaged as consisting of "eight huge Doric pillars of plastered brick, forming a screen to a Saracenic arch and supporting a flimsy balcony of perforated zinc with a wooden verandah of Indian type, behind which is a useless and uninhabitable set of rooms constituting the upper storey of the Gate."⁷⁵

Only the merchants and traders, marked out by their "conservative

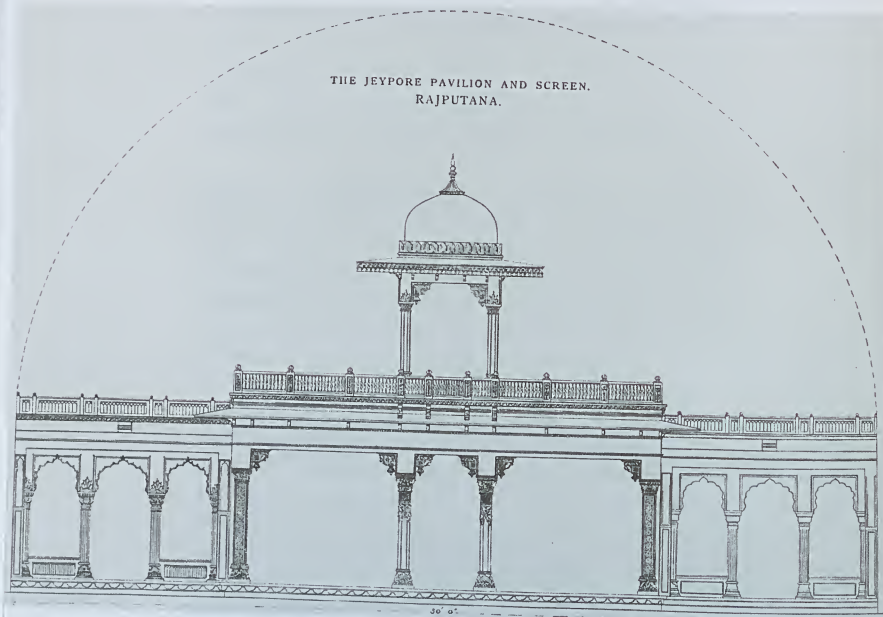


42. Front of a house at Danpur. From *JIA*, no. 3 (1884). This sketch is also reproduced in Growse, *Bulandshahr*.

adherence to ancestral usage," and lacking the social pretension of the anglicized upper classes, put up structures Growse found attractive. Their urban mansions invariably contained richly ornamented and carved facades, with screens of pierced-stone tracery, bracketed parapets, and arched verandahs.⁷⁶ In these merchants' homes, Growse did not wholly disapprove of designs that combined European features with Indian details. One such, the residence of the banker Lala Janaki Prasad in Khurja, he even spoke of affectionately as having the "charm, so to speak, of a Eurasian belle." Designed by a Brahmin of Hathras, this structure brought together an Italianate colonnade with "lace-like tracery" and surface ornamentation, including a sculptured figure of Ganesh, "all oriental in character." Growse disliked the two sham doors on either side of the entrance, treated in stone as though made of wood. But otherwise, he wrote, the design indicated "an intelligent grasp" of the principles on which Indian architecture could be carried forward, at once "conservative of the national genius, but open to European refinements."⁷⁷ Kipling too praised the Khurja design as opening the way to "progress," much as earlier generations, "working on Muhammadan canons," had assimilated foreign elements into a new style in which they now worked "most freely."⁷⁸

Yet Growse was prepared neither to leave Bulandshahr's artisans alone nor to shape the growth of an "eclectic" style himself. Convinced that artisanal craftsmanship could not, unaided, survive the "fashion of occidentalism," he insisted that "public taste" must be "correctly guided," not only by schools of art and museums, "but still more by the persistent stimulus of practical example." Mere connoisseurship was not enough. An Englishman's function in India, he wrote, "is to stimulate enterprise and direct the general course of affairs, but to abstain from interference with the details of execution." Nor would such direction be unwelcome to the Hindu, for, "with his overpowering passion for detail," he "does well to follow foreign guidance." In practice this "guidance" involved a close oversight of locally recruited labor. Two brothers, Yusuf and Mircha Mistri of Mathura, were employed as headmen in all Growse's operations; they prepared the working drawings of proposed buildings and then submitted them to Growse for approval. The carpenters and bricklayers, he reported with pleased surprise, were by and large "the very same men who raised the bare walls, and set up the tasteless door frames that distinguish the older public buildings of the town."⁷⁹

The preparation of architectural samples for display in European exhibitions was carried out in much the same way. Indeed, sometimes the same individuals were involved; Yusuf Mistri, for instance, designed and built a full-sized stone model of the facade of a Bulandshahr house for the South Kensington Museum, where it was set up conspicuously by the entrance.⁸⁰ At the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886 one of the "principle features" were ornamental carved screens contributed by each province to mark off its exhibit area. The carving of the Jaipur gateway and screens, described in the *Journal of Indian Art*, gives an indication of the working procedures of the crafts architects (fig. 43). For this project, at T. H. Hendley's suggestion, the wood was cut and joined in Bombay and then brought to Jaipur. The measurements for the screen were fixed in



43. Jaipur gateway and screen.
From *JIA*, no. 12 (1886).

accordance with the requirements of the commissioners of the exhibition, and Swinton Jacob supplied a design, in "the modified Saracenic in vogue in Upper India," for the screen and an elevation for the entrance gate. Carpenters from Shekhawati were then set to work to "enrich" them with carving. "The only instructions issued to the wood-carvers were, that as great a variety of patterns should be employed as possible, the ornament to be purely Indian, and no attempt to be made to work on other than traditional lines. . . . Each carver has done what was right in his own eyes, subject to the approval of the *mistris*, or master-workmen, who had to judge whether the whole would be in harmony or not." The result was, the *Journal* concluded, "a good example of what uneducated men in the old time could accomplish."⁸¹

A substantial element of self-deception was clearly at work here. Surely it was not possible to pretend that a project so closely circumscribed by European requirements had been carried out "without unnecessary European interference." Similarly, the refusal to allow innovation in design was hardly compatible with any expectation of progress toward an "eclectic" architecture. Growse was himself critical of the British practice of "seizing fluid custom and crystallizing it into rigid inflexible law." He admitted too that it was "legitimate" for an Indian artist "to absorb and reproduce foreign elements of design if they are suggested spontaneously by his environment and he is strong enough to assimilate them," as in the case of Lala Janaki Prasad's house. But he adamantly insisted that it was "extremely hazardous for a European to direct any such innovations; and accordingly I am far more conservative of oriental tradition in the buildings I supervise than my workmen would be if they were left entirely to their own devices."⁸² Growse, in a word, was more Oriental than the Orientals!

The crafts enthusiasts thus approached architecture with objectives different from those, like Swinton Jacob, who worked in the Indo-Saracenic style. Above all, while the Saracenic engineer-builders set out to reconstruct India's architectural heritage so that it could serve the novel purposes of the British Raj, the crafts builders sought to preserve, so far as possible intact, what they conceived of as India's traditional building practices. For that reason, the crafts enthusiasts directed much of their attention toward domestic architecture. The decoration of house fronts, the layout of streets and courtyards, the building of markets and other structures meant for the everyday use of Indians, with the artisanal

crafts that these projects supported—not the construction of public monuments—absorbed their energies. To be sure, men like Growse, as we have seen, were not unaware of the political effect of employing “Saracenic” architectural styles in their building. Comparing his Khurja market gateway to the “portals of the old imperial Forts at Agra and Delhi,” Growse wrote, “It was this air of stateliness in all my designs, which most impressed the native imagination; so that the phrase almost invariably employed to describe them in the language of the country was *Badshahi Imarat*, or ‘Imperial Structures.’”⁸³ Nor was he oblivious to the needs of the contemporary world. The rebuilt Bulandshahr, after all, was meant to be architecturally a “modern” town.

Still, their central concern with the artisan led the crafts enthusiasts inevitably to scorn the work of the British engineer-architect. For Havell, indeed, Indo-Saracenic architecture was but little better than the “ordinary departmental product.” The Indo-Saracenic builder, he wrote, “does not come, as the Moguls did, to learn the art of building from the Indian master-builder, but—on the false assumption that art in India vanished with the last of the Moguls—to teach the application of Indian archaeology to the constructive methods of the West, using the Indian craftsman only as an instrument for creating a make-believe Anglo-Indian style.”⁸⁴ By contrast, those like Lepel Griffin, for whom the “essential condition of the architectural problem of today” was the “adaptation of Oriental art to modern requirements,” and thus patronized Indo-Saracenic styles, had but little patience with the work of men like Growse. “We must not,” Griffin wrote, “erect an artistic style, which is only beautiful when appropriate, into a fetish and blindly worship it. . . . Modern India is outgrowing the old style, and however much we may in the interests of the picturesque, regret the change, it would be as foolish to resist it as to attempt to restore in England the thick walls and narrow windows of the Norman style of architecture.” The employment of Indian artisans was not enough. One must, Griffin insisted, “invoke the assistance of such European artists as have been able, by a wider culture, to assimilate and reproduce what is best in the architectural methods of the East and the West.”⁸⁵

Despite this mutual mistrust, the crafts enthusiast and Indo-Saracenic builder shared far more than separated them. Both accepted the “traditionalist” view that Indian life, especially in areas such as Rajasthan, was

“very much the same as it was three or four centuries ago,” with the result that its still “living” architecture embodied a “true expression of Indian sentiment and of Indian genius.”⁸⁶ Both asserted also that Britain had a mission in India to preserve and sustain, not radically to reform, this enduring way of life. If anything, the crafts enthusiasts, with their romantic “medievalist” vision, were even more committed to the notion of a “traditional” India. However much they might in theory acknowledge the possibility of innovation, in practice they could not accept the implications of such an admission. Nor was romanticism alone involved. As the crafts movement disdained India’s high art, inextricably entwined with the alien and potentially threatening world of Hinduism, so too was it perilous to encourage among Indians a creative spirit in architecture. The native had to play the role of “native”: in this case to be a craftsman working within what the British had decided was an appropriate “traditional” mode. Those, like the Bulandshahr gentry, who sought to emancipate themselves from the confining structures of the old architectural styles had of necessity to be disparaged; the “Eurasian belle,” despite her charms, raised troubling issues the British preferred always to evade.⁸⁷

As they defied the anglicist notion of a reformed India, and with it the entrenched formalism of government bureaucracy, the crafts enthusiasts helped shape the nature of the Raj in the later nineteenth century. Exhibitions and museums at home, art schools and buildings such as Growse’s in India, all testified to a vision of empire, and of Britain’s role in the East, that remained compelling and influential as long as Britain’s self-proclaimed mastery over India’s past, and power over its present, remained secure.

The Classical Revival

In 1903 Edwin Lutyens, abandoning his youthful building of arts and crafts country homes, wrote enthusiastically to his friend Herbert Baker, practicing in South Africa, that "in architecture Palladio is the game! . . . To the average man it is dry bones, but under the hands of a Wren it glows and the stiff materials become as plastic clay." Lutyens thus joined his authority to a classical revival that, foreshadowed by the 1893 Chicago exhibition and pushed forward by the powerful example of the Paris Ecole des Beaux-Arts, transformed architectural styles throughout Europe and the colonial world alike during the first decade of the twentieth century.¹ Lutyens's own role in this architectural revival, capped by the triumph of New Delhi, was to be substantial and will be examined later. Yet the change in style was not a matter of taste alone. It reflected and helped shape, as had the earlier growth of Indo-Saracenic building in India, the relationships of power and culture that marked out the Edwardian era.

At the heart of this revived classicism was, as Alastair Service has pointed out in his recent account of Edwardian architecture, a "celebration of Empire and Prosperity."² The last decade of the nineteenth century, and the first decade of the twentieth, as Britain recovered from the depression of the 1880s, were years of self-confidence and self-assertion. Though Britain was no longer the unchallenged master of commerce and the seas, as she had been during the mid-Victorian era, from 1890 up to the eve of the Great War an expanding trade brought widening circles of the British upper and middle classes increasing profit and a palpable sense of well-being. These same years also saw the dramatic expansion of Britain's empire into tropical Africa, and its consolidation by powerful

imperial proconsuls, men such as Cromer, Lugard, Rhodes, and Milner. Not surprisingly, the 1897 Jubilee, which celebrated sixty years of Victoria's rule, with its procession through the streets of London of subject peoples from around the globe, at once expressed and inaugurated a new era of popular enthusiasm for empire. Yet this assertiveness and the patriotic exuberance that accompanied it masked a growing sense of insecurity as European rivals, above all Germany, rose in power and prominence, while subject peoples in India and South Africa began to make their own claims on power. Indeed, one might argue, by their self-assertion the Edwardians sought to control, if not forcibly to subdue, these insecurities. This chapter will examine how a revived classicism—an architecture fitted not just for the British Raj in India, but for empire around the world—gave a visible shape to the new imperialism of the turn of the twentieth century. It is necessary therefore to look briefly at building in South Africa and in England itself as well as in India.

"Imperial" Building in England

As enthusiasm for empire took hold of popular sentiment, British builders sought not only to create an imperial architecture overseas, but to reshape London itself so that the city might properly play its role as the capital of a great empire. In so doing they set out upon an enterprise of unprecedented originality. The notion that Britain was an imperial power presiding over a great empire had of course existed since the earliest days of British rule in India, if not before, and that conception took legal form in the 1876 Royal Titles Act which made Victoria Empress of India. Its visible manifestation, as we have seen, was the Indo-Saracenic architecture of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. But this empire had always existed apart from England, where the monarch remained king or queen; and the streets and buildings of London expressed in their layout and design the city's enduring role as a national capital. In the Edwardian era, for the first time, empire was to define the architectural form of London itself.

Inevitably, as these new ideas took hold the earlier Victorian Gothic, together with the "free style" of arts and crafts building, gave way to a revived classicism. The use of classical forms to express the spirit of empire was, for the late-Victorian Englishman, at once obvious and appropriate, for classical styles, with their reminders of Greece and Rome, were

the architectural medium through which Europeans always apprehended empire. Although the British in India had long conceived of themselves in some degree as Romans, by the turn of the century, with the growth of a popular imperialism, parallels between the Roman and the British Empire, each seen as sustaining law and order across vast stretches of the globe, had become commonplace in Britain and informed much of the writing on the "expansion of England."³

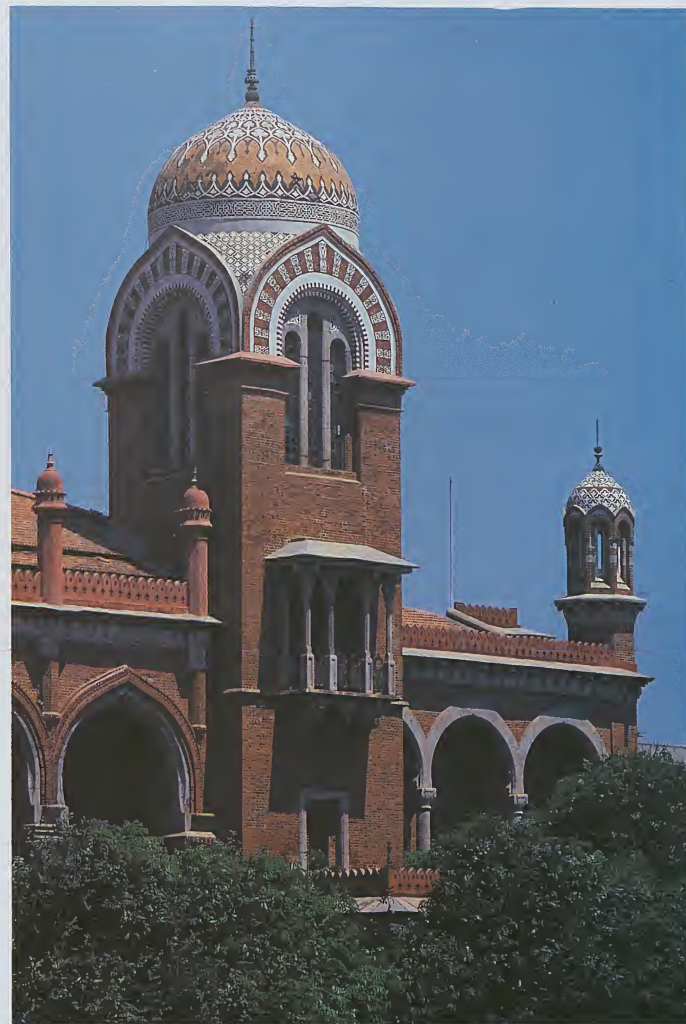
The Edwardian classical revival had, however, little in common with that of a century before. Unlike its predecessor in the early years of the nineteenth century, the classicism of Edwardian times was informed not only by an explicit assertion of empire but by a continuing endeavor to develop an avowedly "national" architectural form. Much of the appeal of Gothic and of vernacular crafts architecture alike grew out of a sense that these styles embodied peculiarly English building traditions and reflected distinctively English values. The architecture of the Greek temple clearly did not do so, and this had helped account for its displacement, in the 1830s and 1840s, from its earlier predominance. Classical baroque architecture by contrast, despite its origins on the continent, could be conceived of as an English building form, for it was after all the style employed by such "giants" as Sir Christopher Wren at Greenwich and John Vanbrugh at Blenheim. As Lutyens wrote in his 1903 letter to Baker, the "line of descent" was straight and clear: from "the Greeks, who handed the torch to the Romans, they to the great Italians and on to the Frenchmen and to Wren, who made it sane for England."⁴ So long as it followed in the footsteps of Wren, baroque architecture could claim to be British and thus appropriate to an era of intense patriotism.

The new baroque classicism rose to prominence with striking rapidity from the 1897 Jubilee year onward. So "headlong," indeed, was its success that by the end of 1903, the year of Lutyens's conversion, most of the English crafts architects had "given up the struggle."⁵ This sudden collapse of the older styles can be attributed in part to the inability, if not unwillingness, of the crafts builders, preoccupied with domestic architecture and interior decoration, to design the monumental public buildings an era of prosperity and progress demanded. Most striking of the building activities carried out during these years was the reconstruction of the ceremonial way that led from Buckingham Palace to Trafalgar Square at the heart of London. The project had its origin in a 1901 commission to Sir Aston Webb (1849–1930) to design a memorial for Queen Victoria.

Plates



1. Memorial Hall, Madras (1860), built by its English residents in gratitude for the city's being spared during the Mutiny uprising. Photograph by author.



2. Madras University Senate House (1874-79), by R. F. Chisholm. Photograph by author.

3. Sketch (marked No. 1) by R. F. Chisholm of house in Trivandrum. Of this rooftop tower he wrote, "to my mind [it is] as pleasing in outline as any thing of the kind to be found in the western world." Courtesy of the British Architectural Library, RIBA, London.



4. Sketch (marked No. 4) by R. F. Chisholm of gateway to a small temple in Travancore. Such a gateway, he wrote, "might almost serve as a porch to a village church." Courtesy of the British Architectural Library, RIBA, London.

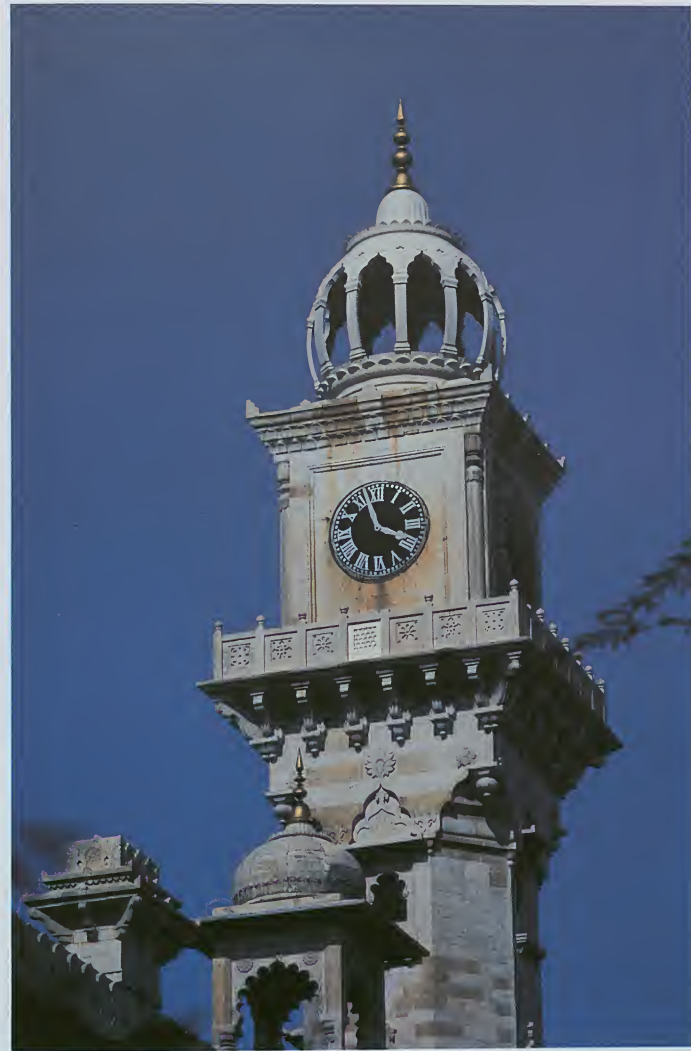


5. Sketch (marked No. 6) by R. F. Chisholm of palace at Palpanabhapuram with cusped window opening projecting from the wall. Courtesy of the British Architectural Library, RIBA, London.

6. Design for Napier Museum, Trivandrum, by R. F. Chisholm (1872). Courtesy of the British Architectural Library, RIBA, London.



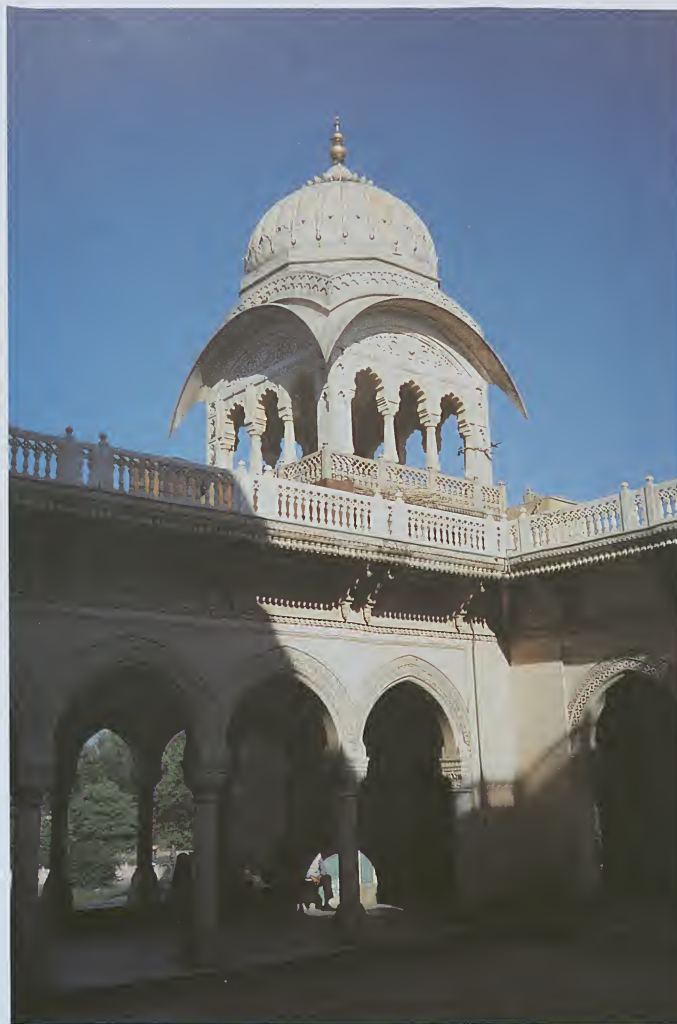
7. Mayo College, Ajmer, by Major C. Mant. The statue in front is that of Lord Mayo, viceroy 1869–1872. Photograph by author.



8. Clock Tower, Mayo College. Photograph by author.



9. Decorated ceiling of lecture hall, Mayo College, with representation of sun to denote solar origin of Rajput ruling dynasties. Photograph by author.

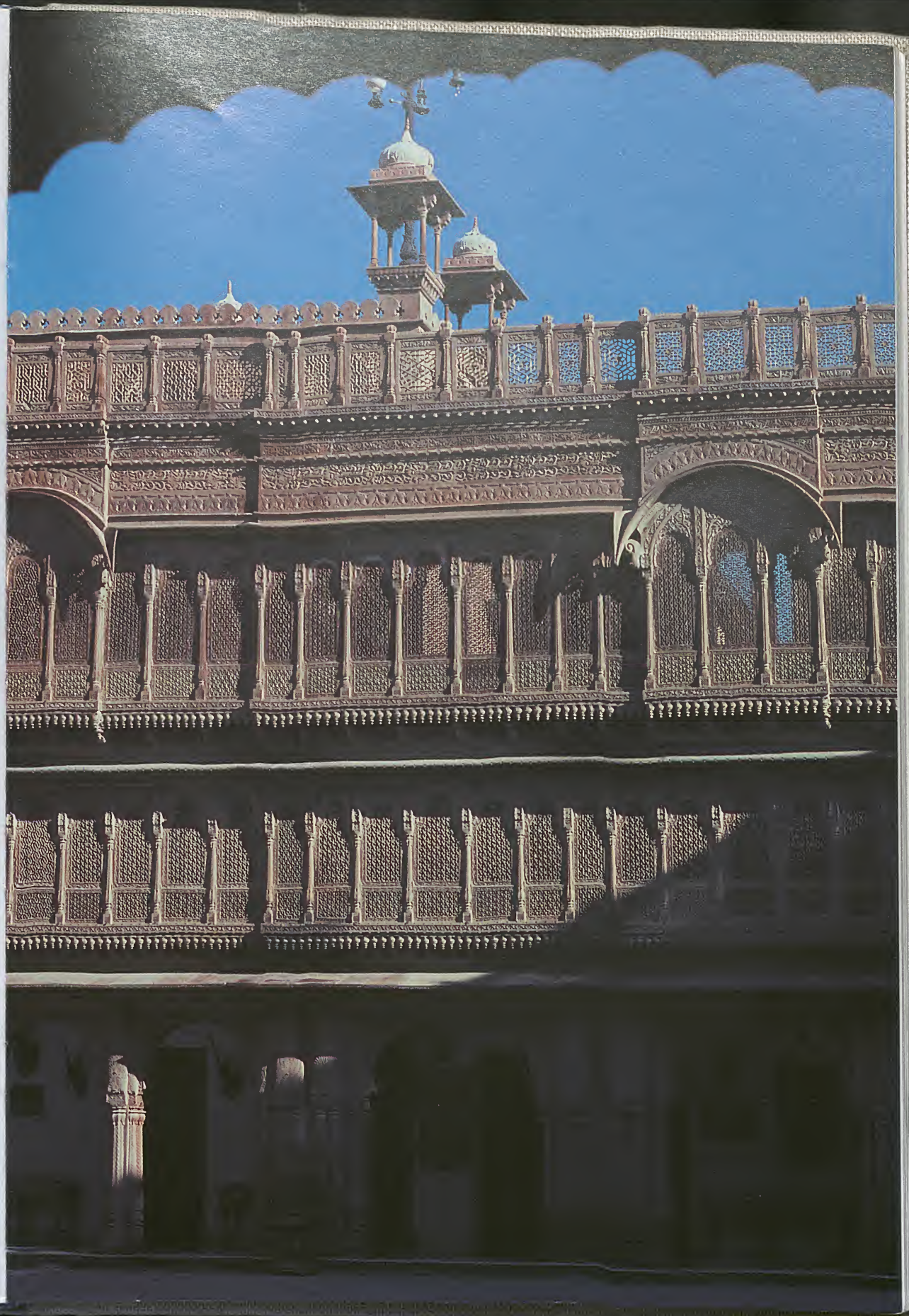


10. Albert Hall Museum, Jaipur. Detail showing chattri above interior courtyard. Photograph by author.



11. Dome of Catholic Church
of the Sacred Heart, Mathura,
by F. S. Growse. Photograph by
author.

12. Interior courtyard,
Lakshmi Vilas Palace, Bikaner,
by Swinton Jacob. Photograph
by author.





13. Mubarak Mahal, City
Palace, Jaipur. Photograph by
author.



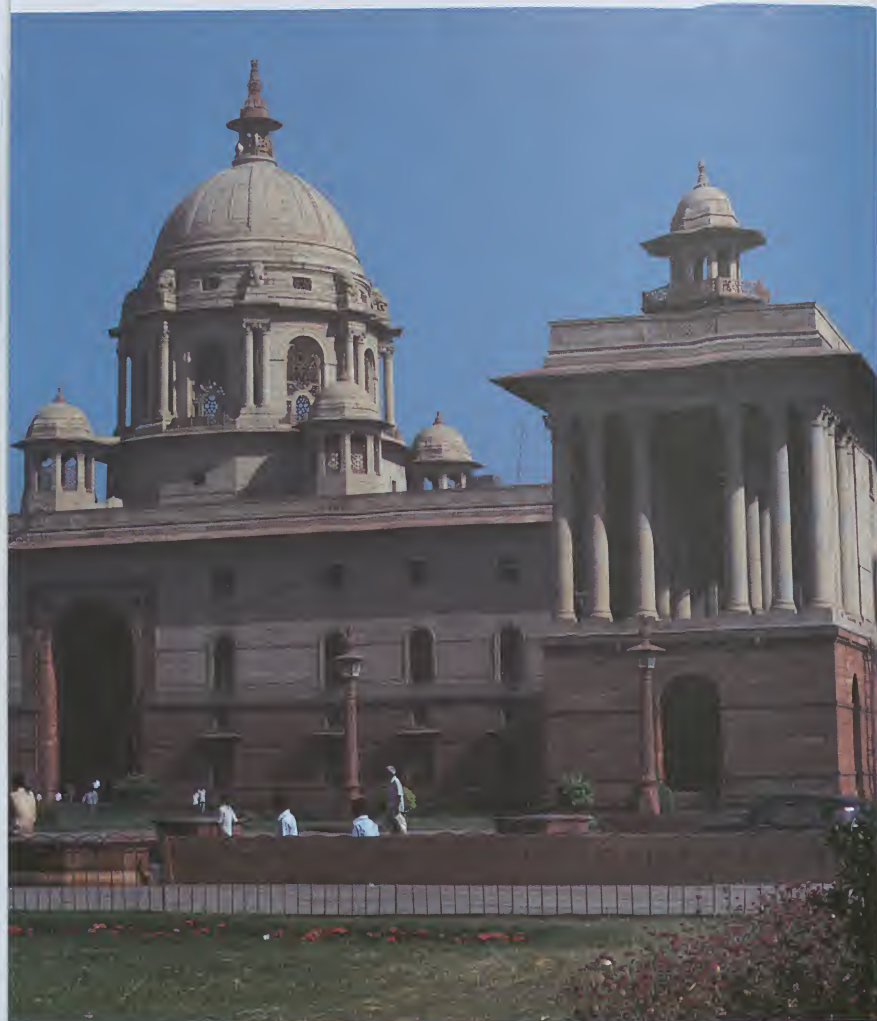
14. Decorative detail, Mubarak
Mahal, Jaipur. Photograph by
author.



15. Union Buildings, Pretoria,
by Herbert Baker. View of
main facade showing west
tower, ministerial portico, and
colonnade. Photograph by
author.



16. Victoria Memorial,
Calcutta, by W. Emerson.
Photograph by author.



17. Secretariat, New Delhi, by Herbert Baker. North Block from the Government Court. Photograph by author.

The design underwent many changes in the decade of construction, but as completed in 1913 it gave London a symbolic axis in the Mall, a broad tree-lined avenue, anchored at the Palace end by the Victoria Memorial and at Trafalgar Square by the Admiralty Arch. The scheme was completed by the refronting of Buckingham Palace itself with a beaux-arts classical facade. Together the whole substantially enhanced the position of the king-emperor as the focal point of the imperial system. The Mall provided him with a formal processional route from his palace to the city; the Memorial, with its *rond-point*, forced the traffic of the radiating avenues to circulate in front of the palace, while the baroque Admiralty Arch demarcated the margin of the ceremonial ground. The Arch too, by its very nature, evoked images of the Roman triumphal arch and so reinforced the imperial vision that defined the enterprise.⁶

Behind the scheme lurked perhaps, in addition, something of the persistent British defensiveness of those years. In France the turn of the century saw the full fruition of the severely formal classicism of beaux-arts design. Since the time of Napoleon III, if not before, this architectural style had been closely identified with empire, and its use testified to the revival of French power and self-confidence in the later nineteenth century. Though previously little used in Britain, its employment in the years immediately before the First World War on such prestigious projects as the facing of Buckingham Palace, as part of the larger enterprise of rebuilding London, may be seen as an attempt not only to give these structures an imperial monumentality but, more generally, to assert for Britain an equivalence with its rivals across the Channel. As the prime minister, A. J. Balfour admitted, the project for a reconstructed Mall was "of a kind which other nations have shown examples, which we may well imitate, and can easily surpass."⁷

Aston Webb's Mall was by no means the only attempt to create a more "Imperial" capital. Most ambitious perhaps was the scheme outlined, under the heading "Imperial London," in a leading article in the January 1912 issue of the architectural journal *The Builder*. Inspired by the recent coronation of George V, the editors argued that, with the idea of Imperial Federation fast taking shape, London had now to "justify its natural position as the seat of a Federated Imperial Government." If "our overgrown village," they argued, "is to be transformed into a capital city of sufficient grandeur to satisfy the ideas of those of our race who, free from the cramping influence of a narrow insularity, have developed . . . a

wider and more international outlook, nothing less than a complete reversal of our present mental attitude toward architecture and of our conception of London will be required." What this involved, first of all, was the erection of an "Imperial" Parliament House separate from that at Westminster, together with the reconstruction of Buckingham Palace as an "Imperial Palace." An "Imperial Processional Way" would then be constructed from the Palace through St. James's Park to Westminster and thence across the river into an "Imperial quarter," where the new Parliament House would be located. Encompassing the entire South Bank of the Thames to Blackfriars Bridge, the "Imperial quarter" would contain not only the new Parliament House but all "the necessities of an Imperial city," including foreign embassies and the headquarters of the various states composing the Empire. At its center, facing the river, would be located an "Imperial Place" where ceremonies connected with the presentation of addresses to the sovereign would take place. Recrossing the Thames, the "Imperial way" would provide a "processional approach" to St. Paul's Cathedral, and then end at the Guildhall.⁸

The outbreak of war in 1914 put an end to grandiose schemes for the creation of "a grand new Parisian London." Other more urgent matters claimed attention. Yet even without the war it is unlikely that London would have been extensively rebuilt. As the *Builder* itself recognized, cost was a substantial deterrent. Unlike imperial Rome, built from the "wealth of conquered provinces," London could be remodeled only "at the expense of her citizens or by the voluntary contributions of the different States" comprising the Empire. These were little likely to be forthcoming.⁹ The *Builder's* scheme for an imposing "Imperial capital" was nevertheless soon to take shape—in the design of New Delhi. The wealth of the "conquered provinces" of Britain's colonial empire could alone support the magnificence of an imperial architecture. Much as the imperial ideal motivated Edwardian building in Britain, it is overseas that one must look to find a classical architecture embodying the spirit of empire.

Imperial Building in South Africa: The Work of Herbert Baker

In 1899, caught up in the high tide of imperial enthusiasm, the British challenged Paul Kruger's Boer republic for the mastery of South Africa. Some three years later, in 1902, after a long and difficult struggle, the Boers sued for peace, and the Transvaal and the old Orange Free State

were added to the British Empire. During the subsequent eight years, until the old Boer states in 1910 were federated with the Cape Colony and Natal to form the self-governing Union of South Africa, the British embarked on a wide-ranging "Reconstruction" of South Africa's economy, governance, and social structure. The war had been costly, but South Africa, with its vast mineral wealth, was regarded as a valuable possession. So it is not surprising that during the Edwardian era South Africa became a major focus of British imperial enterprise. Sir Alfred Milner, high commissioner in the days before the war, was placed in charge; and he called to South Africa to work with him a group of young and energetic Oxford graduates, who were soon dubbed Milner's "kindergarten." Together these men laid down an enduring structure for the South Africa of the twentieth century.¹⁰ This favorable climate provided the seedbed for an architecture meant to celebrate empire. Here—in Cape Town, Johannesburg, and Pretoria—its principles were hammered out, and the ideology took shape that was to culminate in the building of New Delhi in the years after 1912. For this achievement one individual, an Englishman settled in South Africa, Herbert Baker, was almost single-handedly responsible (fig. 44).



44. Herbert Baker (1862–1946). Photograph courtesy of the University of Cape Town Libraries.

Son of a none too prosperous country squire, Baker was born in 1862, in Owletts, Kent, a place whose rural surroundings caught up his affections throughout his life. Lacking the funds for a college education, he served an apprenticeship in the London firm of Ernest George and Peto, where he made the acquaintance of his later collaborator and rival, Edwin Lutyens. After several years of quiet practice on his own, Baker decided in 1892 to seek his fortune in South Africa. Soon after his arrival he secured an introduction to Cecil Rhodes, then prime minister of the self-governing Cape Colony. One morning a few days after his first meeting, so Baker later recounted, "walking at the foot of the mountain below Groote Schuur . . . I met him riding. He stopped and asked me to breakfast the next morning, as he wanted me, he said, to 'build his house.'" As a result of this "happy meeting" Baker decided to "stay and try my luck as an architect."¹¹

The connection with Rhodes was of critical importance for Baker's subsequent professional development. Baker soon discovered, first of all, that he and Rhodes shared an enthusiasm for crafts work. He himself had naturally turned for inspiration, as he took up the study of architecture in the mid-1880s, to the arts and crafts movement, then at its height. He was thus "thrilled" to discover, during his first days in South Africa, the "dignity and beauty" of the old homesteads built by the early Dutch and Huguenot settlers. These plain gabled houses, whitewashed and thatched-roofed, had long been disparaged as the inferior work of rustic Boers. But, for Baker, their "simplicity" of design and handcrafted finish corresponded exactly with the ideals of domestic building laid down by Morris and the crafts movement. Excited by his "discovery," Baker studied these buildings carefully and helped bring them to the notice of the English public with the publication in 1900 of a volume of sketches to which he contributed an introduction.¹² These "old houses," commented the *Building News* in reviewing the work, "display much artistic excellence, realised with due regard to their surroundings and the materials available. The more simple the building, the more excellent the result."¹³

Rhodes too appreciated the beauty of these old Cape dwellings; in 1893 he had even purchased one, the estate of Groote Schuur, for his own residence. Beyond this, as a politician kept in office by an alliance with Jan Hofmeyr's Afrikaner Bond, Rhodes no doubt appreciated the advantages to be gained from appearing as a patron of Boer crafts. Indeed, the prospect of a revived and distinctive Cape architecture sustained Rhodes's larger vision of a joint nationality uniting Boer and

Briton in South Africa. Hence he commissioned Baker not only to restore Groote Schuur, much altered by nineteenth-century reconstruction, to its original form, but at the same time to search out old furniture and to train craftsmen in the old techniques of building. The old Cape families, wrote Baker, "took a pride in the fact that their old possessions should be in the house of Cecil Rhodes, who had done so much to revive the glory of their traditions."¹⁴

From his work at Groote Schuur, which had to be rebuilt twice, for it burned to the ground immediately after the first reconstruction, Baker went on to build a number of Cape Dutch-styled houses. Of these, one, a seaside retreat on the sands of Muizenberg, was for his own use, while two were erected for Rhodes on his Groote Schuur estate. Each possessed a broad *stoep* (paved terrace), whitewashed walls, and gables; and several were focused around an open-columned atrium or central court. The most distinctive of these houses was the "Woolsack," meant as a "cottage in the woods" for poets and artists, whom Rhodes wished to attract to the Cape in order to enhance the level of its culture. Moved by aesthetic and political objectives alike, Rhodes invited Rudyard Kipling, the poet of empire, "to hang up his hat there" whenever he liked. For seven years, from 1900 to 1907, Kipling responded by spending the English winter amidst the summer "peace" of Groote Schuur. Rhodes was disappointed only that Kipling did not incorporate "the beauty and grandeur of the country" more fully into his writing.¹⁵

Rhodes was of course far more than a Cape politician, and his influence on Baker went far beyond the revival of Cape Dutch architecture. Rhodes believed, above all, in the civilizing purpose of the British Empire, whose authority he sought to extend, not only over the adjacent Boer republics but into central Africa, called Rhodesia in testimony to his conquests, and indeed throughout the world as he sought to unite the English-speaking peoples into a larger confederation. The Rhodes scholarships remain the enduring legacy of this vision. Baker, from the first days of his work for Rhodes, developed a great admiration for this empire builder, whose ideals he adopted as his own. Baker set down his feelings, some years after Rhodes's death, in a book entitled simply *Cecil Rhodes by His Architect*. The book is not a memorable biography. Indeed, it tells us more about Baker than about Rhodes, for throughout the volume its author sought to make of Rhodes the unselfish imperial idealist Baker conceived him to be. Nothing is said of how Rhodes, with South Africa's other mining magnates, sought personal gain from his imperial

enterprises, while the fiasco of the Jameson Raid is seen only as a mark of "the eternal tragedy" of "human greatness." As Baker wrote in the book's conclusion, "Amongst the great men I was privileged to know and work for in South Africa, Cecil Rhodes stands out pre-eminently as a personality impelling the highest service and inspiring hero worship. He carried you with him above the material and the critical into the higher sphere of his own practical idealism."¹⁶ To the end of his life Baker endeavored in his architecture to serve the Empire as he conceived that Rhodes had done.

In 1900 Rhodes sent Baker on a tour of the classical sites of the Mediterranean. Rhodes envisaged a federated South Africa as emerging from the war, then in progress, and he saw in the subsequent adornment of his adopted country a way not only of perpetuating his own memory but of furthering his imperial political goals. Rhodes had always conceived of himself, as Baker later wrote, as following in the footsteps of Pericles and Hadrian; he believed too, with Pericles, that art could teach "the lazy Athenians to believe in Empire."¹⁷ As models for his architectural "thoughts" he asked Baker to visit "Rome, Paestum, Agregentum, Thebes, and Athens." In the larger setting of a united South Africa the use of Cape Dutch architecture would clearly no longer suffice. Classical forms alone could crystallize "in stone the soul and spirit of a great Empire." Baker returned from his four months in the Mediterranean no longer simply a craftsman in the Morris tradition, but the architect of a new imperialism.¹⁸

Baker first designed for Rhodes a granite memorial, modeled on a tomb he had seen in Sicily, to commemorate the 1900 siege of Kimberley, where Rhodes had made his first fortune in diamonds and where he himself had been shut up during the war. Inside the base lie the remains of twenty-seven of Kimberley's "honoured dead"; above, a high podium supports a set of free-standing unfluted columns surmounted by a plain entablature and a wide projecting cornice. This style of column, more Roman than Greek, known as the Etruscan or Tuscan order, "one of dignity and simplicity," Baker used more frequently than any other.¹⁹

Rhodes died in 1902 before Baker could complete any of his further "thoughts." Hence Baker's next classically styled structure was, fittingly, a memorial to Rhodes himself. Spread across the rugged slopes of Table Mountain, to which he and Rhodes shared an abiding romantic attachment and on which Rhodes himself had once thought of erecting a "lion-temple," this memorial sought to re-create the atmosphere of a Greek temple, standing isolated "amidst oaks, pines, and protea trees that wave



45. Rhodes Memorial, Table Mountain, Cape Town. Photograph by author.

silver in the wind" (fig. 45). Four wide platforms, joined by flights of steps, guarded on either side by pairs of sphinx-like lions, lead up to the "temple-monument" with its U-shaped peristyle of Tuscan columns. Against the central niche of the solid back wall is a massive bust of Rhodes, head in hands. Beneath is inscribed a verse by Kipling:

The immense and brooding Spirit still
Shall quicken and control,
Living he was the land, and dead,
His soul shall be her soul.

At the front of the monument, set on a high pedestal, is an equestrian group by F. Watts called "Physical Energy," of a rider reigning in a horse. The whole faces north, so that one looks out from its terraces,

across "distant horizons of mountains, promontories, and seas," toward Rhodes's central African hinterland.²⁰

The construction of the monument was not free of controversy. Francis Masey, Baker's partner, wanted the temple, much of whose detailing was taken from the Kimberley monument, to be more "Egyptian" in character, with use of "the very simplest forms." Lord Curzon, asked by the organizing committee to submit a report on the design, urged that the end point of this "great stairway and pillared portico," which he compared to the Propylaea gateway on the Acropolis, ought not to be marked by a mere bust in a niche. Instead of this "inadequate" form of commemoration, he called for a larger-than-life-size seated figure in an open chamber. Baker, however, stood firm against the critics. In response to Curzon's criticisms, he argued that the sculpture was not so much a bust as a "colossal head growing as it were out of a wall of granite," and that, like the monument as a whole, it was meant to "express the spiritual rather than the real."²¹ As the sculptor John M. Swan wrote, "it requires the head of Rhodes as a great thinker and man of imagination treated in a poetic spirit to complete the sculpture with the noblest ideal."²²

For Baker the most difficult part of the project was the design of the lions. Out of sympathy with the conventions of contemporary art, he found almost no sculptor, during a tour of Europe, suitable for the task. French sculpture, he wrote to Masey, "tho' technically brilliant, is licentious—it has no ideal nor *obedience to tradition or architectonic requirement*." Even in England there was "little work of the monumental and conventional character we require." All "naturalesque" in their designs, the "bulk of the men only do pretty nude women in different attitudes." In the end he selected Swan, a painter turned sculptor of animals, and a man who "goes as far as any sculptor in the idealistic direction." As models Swan sought inspiration from the "sphinx-lions" of the Egyptian temple, above all the avenue of "repeating sphinxes" at Karnac for which Rhodes had a "special veneration." Unlike most representations of the lion in art, which embodied only "restlessness and ferocity," the archaic forms of Egypt, Baker wrote, gave expression to the "qualities of calm strength and reserve power," and so admirably complemented the "energy" of the horseman "scanning the future for his next conquest."²³

The Rhodes Memorial, following his earlier work for Rhodes himself, brought Baker substantial acclaim. Lutyens had already, in 1904,

praised Baker for his "splendid" work. "You have," he wrote, "had to create everything out of sand and biscuit tins, yet you have not only made a name in Africa, but a name that has come back here." Of the Rhodes bust, Lutyens said simply that it "is like a Christ in a Byzantine apse, colossal and *impressive*." Philip Kerr, later Lord Lothian, told Baker after a visit that the monument was "a wonderful thing." Even Curzon, he continued, despite his criticism, "is supposed to have said when he came out that it was the best thing of its kind since the Greeks, and I think he was right. It's so calm, clean, and eternal."²⁴

In 1902, as the Boer War came to an end, Baker moved from Cape Town to Johannesburg on the high veld. The incentive was an invitation from Lord Milner, governor of the conquered Boer republics, "to go up there to aid in introducing a better and more permanent order of architecture." In Milner, Baker found a new patron; in the reconstruction of the Transvaal, a new imperial cause. At Johannesburg Baker at once fell in with the young men of Milner's "kindergarten." These men, united like himself in a "bond of loyalty" to Milner, Baker wrote, "responded to the confidence and trust he reposed in them . . . and [so] were welded to shape and use both for greater purposes in South Africa and afterwards in the British Commonwealth."²⁵

In the desolate mining camp that was then Johannesburg, Baker's spacious home, built on a rocky ridge overlooking the city, became the center for much of the activity of this "band of brothers." Several, including Lionel Curtis, shared the house with him. "We all rode early, I after a gallop often to some house I was building, they perhaps to some distant inspection or settlement of a land question. Then after long office hours for all of us there were generally officials or visitors or settlers from the veld to dinner. . . . 'Moots' followed afterwards, more often at the week-ends." Kipling, visiting from Cape Town, came away impressed. "I feel better and more placid in my mind after the trip north. I think the spectacle of your house full of clean white boys cheered me as much as anything. It never occurred to me that a narrow-minded and sordid municipality could evolve that type, and I am very glad to have met it."²⁶

As architect, Baker complemented in stone the work of his friends on paper and at their desks. Along with their administrative reforms, his buildings remain to the present day lasting monuments of the era of Reconstruction. Above all, during his years in the Transvaal, from 1902 to 1912, Baker built houses, some three hundred in all. Among them were

a residence in Pretoria for the lieutenant-governor of the Transvaal, another for the general commanding the Pretoria garrison, several homes for his "kindergarten" friends, a number of palatial mansions for mining magnates, among them Drummond Chaplin and Lionel Phillips, together with several housing estates for workers on the Rand and an extensive agricultural estate established by the duke of Westminster in the eastern Orange Free State. Baker also constructed a number of Anglican parish churches and laid out the basic design of the Pretoria cathedral, with its stone semicircular apse and choir. The architectural style of these various structures, though often impressive, is in no way distinctive. Solid, lasting, with high timbered ceilings, these "grave, handsome stone houses" combine, in an eclectic fashion, the crafts principles Baker had learned from Morris, Cape Dutch ornamentation, especially gables and *stoeps*, along with features drawn from European medieval, Jacobean, and Italianate design.²⁷ These domestic structures were, however, but the beginning of Baker's architectural work as South Africa was shaped for a new position in the Empire and a new architecture of empire was set in place.

The Union Buildings, Pretoria

In May 1909, a few months after a National Convention had met to draw up plans for a closer union of its four colonies, Baker published an article, "The Architectural Needs of South Africa," in a new journal called *The State*. In this paper, a review of classical building from Egypt to L'Enfant's Washington, he called for a return in civic architecture to the "greater and eternal qualities of the art." Among these were "scale, balance and symmetry, orderly arrangement, and a simplicity which subordinates details of design to a big conception and to the demands of surrounding nature."²⁸ One month later, in June 1909, appointed architect of the Union Buildings, Baker set out to realize this vision in stone. Widely regarded as the finest of his work, the Union Buildings at the same time most fully embody the classical ideals of empire he had brought back from his Mediterranean tour.²⁹

Till 1900 a small sleepy town, the capital of Kruger's republic, Pretoria had, around its central Church Square, only a few substantial public buildings, designed for the most part by continental architects in Flemish and French Renaissance styles. After the war, though the city's growth never approached the frenetic character of that in Johannesburg,

the nearby city of gold, Pretoria nevertheless flourished as the seat of government for the largest and wealthiest of the South African colonies. Hence it was not surprising that the National Convention designated the city as administrative capital of the new state, with the Parliament to be established in Cape Town. In so small a town as Pretoria, however, suitable office space for the new government could not be found. So the Transvaal government in 1909, a full year before the new union government was to come into being, appropriated some £150,000 for the purpose of making a "commencement" on the Union Buildings. At the same time, without consulting the other provincial governments, they engaged "Mr. Herbert Baker, who is recommended to them as the suitable architect for the purpose, to draw up plans."³⁰

The Union Buildings were not Baker's first venture into public building in Pretoria. The year before, in 1908, he had been commissioned to design a new railway station for the city. For this contract his "kindergarten" ties were crucial. When an open competition produced no satisfactory design, the railway secretary, Robert Brand, on his own initiative gave the job to Baker. Brand was, as Baker wrote to Lutyens, "one of Milner's young men, who have such influence with the government, and through this influence it is that I have got these Railway buildings to do."³¹ In the design, rejecting as impractical a great curved arch across the tracks, of the sort that gave such stations as King's Cross, London, their monumental character, Baker modeled the station on a Renaissance palace. A wide-eaved red-tiled roof and walls of rough-hewn stone blocks defined a structure of loggias, balconies, and arcades, dominated by four double sets of Ionic columns set in a deep recess above the entrance portico. A little clock tower perched above the whole. Although, as Doreen Greig observes, the design "fails when it is examined in detail" because of Baker's inexperience in the classical idiom, still the railway station, by giving him an opportunity to experiment with these forms, helped prepare him for the great enterprise that was to follow.³²

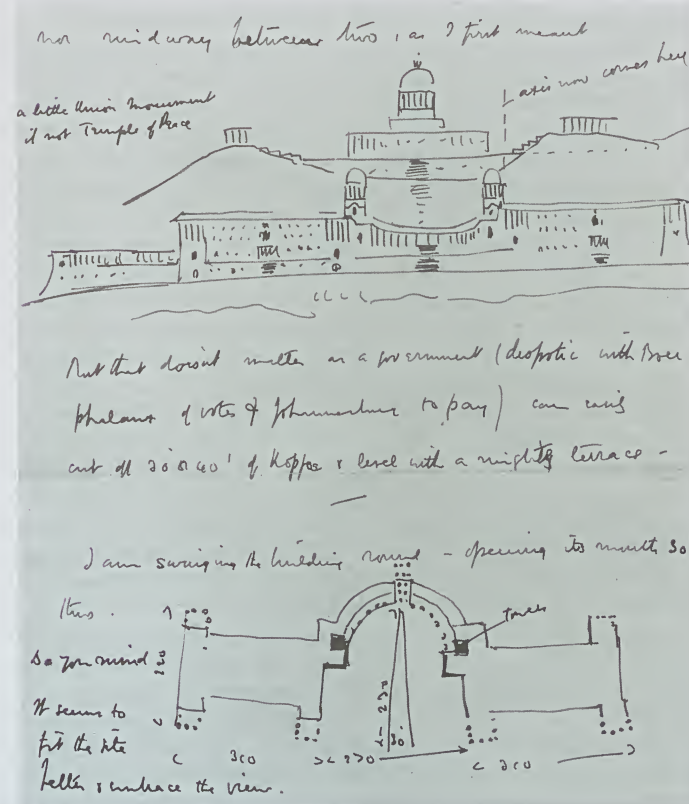
His work on the railway station brought Baker to the favorable notice of the Transvaal authorities, and so encouraged them, with Brand's influence once again enlisted on his behalf, to consider him for the new administrative buildings. Initially asked to act only as "consulting architect" in collaboration with the Public Works Department, Baker insisted on "complete control" of the project. The government promptly acquiesced. There was no competition at all, which, as we shall see, provoked a substantial muttering of criticism. Baker at once turned his attention to

the selection of an appropriate site and the working out of a draft design. On these he wasted no time. Three weeks after his selection as architect, on 26 June 1909, in a handwritten letter from the Pretoria Club, Baker put forward his proposals.³³

Anticipating the need for office space, the government had already purchased a block of flat land in the center of the city. This Baker rejected out of hand as "unworthy" of the capital buildings of a united South Africa. Instead, he explored the surrounding hills in search of a setting that would give the structure "the dignity and nobility of a city set upon a hill." His ideal, as he later explained it, was an acropolis capital like that of Athens or Agrigentum, "with its rows of temples on the hillside," overlooking the sea. He finally settled upon a narrow shelf halfway up the south-facing Meintjes Kop about a mile from the center of town. As he described it in his letter to the prime minister, General Louis Botha, "the site is on a plateau, which is broken by a small kloof [ravine], which [is] a natural amphitheatre behind. My plan suggests placing one block of buildings to hold the new offices immediately required . . . on one side of this kloof; . . . at some future date a second corresponding block can be added on the other side." The two blocks would, he continued, "be linked by a semicircular colonnade, the space between being laid out with terraces, gardens, and statues in course of time." At the back, against the colonnade, could be built an outdoor amphitheater, with space sufficient to seat a large number of people; the view, through the columns and statues, would be "one of the most attractive in the world." A flight of steps above the colonnade could lead at the very top of the hill to a dome erected "as emblem of the capital and of unity," with a "Temple of Peace" placed further along the ridge.³⁴

By September Baker had worked out detailed plans (fig. 46). Both blocks, with the linking colonnade, were now to be built simultaneously. On either side of the central colonnade, flanking the inside of the blocks, he had added twin domed towers, designed to lead up to the "greater dome" on the hilltop. This dome and the associated "Temple of Peace" were, however, fated never to be constructed. Baker had initially conceived of the dome as a "Capitol" to house a "future Parliament," but the Parliament remained in Cape Town. Cost too was a deterrent, even though, as he had joked with Lutyens, a government "despotic with Boer phalanx of votes and Johannesburg to pay" could easily cut down the hilltop to provide a building site.³⁵

On one matter Baker stood firm. The building must remain on Meintjes Kop. Some had criticized the distance of this site from the center of Pretoria; others disliked its south-facing orientation, which meant that the building's facade would be in the shade the greater part of the day.



46. Draft sketch of the Union Buildings, Pretoria, by Herbert Baker. On the top of the ridge behind the Union Buildings are shown the domed "future

Parliament" and, to the left, the "Temple of Peace." Neither of these structures was ever built. Letter to Lutyens of 21 October 1909, reproduced

by permission of Henry Baker and by courtesy of the British Architectural Library, RIBA, London.

But for Baker this site was essential to his conception of the entire project. As he wrote in his first letter, in June, "a capital built on a kopje best expresses the sentiment and spirit of the high veld and South Africa." He took Lady Selborne, wife of the governor-general, to tour the site; worked hard to convince General Jan Smuts of its appropriateness; and had Brand use his influence with the government yet again on his behalf.³⁶

During the first hectic months, as the design was hammered out, Baker found himself subjected to intense, and often conflicting, pressures. The Transvaal government, determined to control the project, wished to get as much as possible completed before May 1910, when the Union was to come into existence. As a result, Baker complained, as he wrote Lutyens, of being "absurdly rushed," though he enjoyed working with the "autocratic and rich" Transvaal government. "Next May, when other jealous governments—or ministers representing other colonies come in and will have their say in the building, all will be different. So we count to get the contracts signed first."³⁷ This sense of urgency no doubt helped account too for the government's reluctance at the outset to hold a design competition, for that would only further delay the start of work.

Yet the government could not wholly ignore its critics. In October 1909, in a confidential circular letter, Botha sought to mollify the other colonial governments by pointing to the impending shortage of office space in Pretoria and the "considerable sum" of Transvaal government money committed to the project. A few weeks later the government submitted Baker's plans for "expert professional" review to a committee consisting of P. Eagle, the architect of the Public Works Department, and W. S. deZwaan, an architect in private practice in Pretoria. Not surprisingly, their report was highly critical both of Baker's design and of the manner in which he had been selected. "The first and only scheme submitted," they said, should be not adopted "until opportunities have been given of considering alternative ideas." Turning to the design itself, although they accepted the location on Meintjes Kop, they found the planning, especially of the central colonnade, "extravagant and expensive," the "elongated line of buildings" out of harmony with the topography, the proposed amphitheatre of "no practical value," and the approach to the top of the ridge "blocked" by the central portion of the building. They suggested instead a variation, suited to the topography, of the "system adopted at Washington," whereby "a series of buildings with winding roads between" would be laid out in a terraced park along the hillside.³⁸

Baker moved quickly to scotch any such reconsideration. The "Washington" plan, he replied, with its broad open mall, was irrelevant, while the preparation of alternative schemes, he took care to point out, would "seriously delay" the start of construction. He was prepared, if necessary in the interests of economy, to abandon the amphitheater. But he stood by the colonnade. The two office blocks, he wrote, "must be connected under cover (it is all *one building*) and the semi-circular colonnade would be a fine connection following nature's curve." But even "if beauty were its sole object," he insisted, must the government "wholly banish architectural embellishment from the Buildings of the Administrative capital?"³⁹ In the end Baker had his way. The Eagle and deZwaan report was brushed aside. On 15 February 1910, the east and west blocks were put out to tender, and the central colonnade followed on 23 March. The final contracts were signed on 17 May, just two weeks before the Union of South Africa came into existence.⁴⁰

Baker had from the outset a clear vision of how this set of buildings was to represent in stone the new South Africa and, as the "symbol of the Union," to give "dignity and beauty to the instrument of government." Throughout, his guide was Sir Christopher Wren. In September 1909, echoing his article in the *State*, he told the government that the "Administrative offices of a Nation should, even more than other Buildings, exhibit the 'Attributes of Eternal,' which Christopher Wren said were the essential characteristics of all great Architecture. Individuals or Companies may express fashion or caprice in their Architecture,—but a Government only the attributes of Law and Order, which are themselves 'Eternal.'" But architecture could do more than simply express law and order. Again, in a March 1911 letter to Smuts, he quoted Wren: "Architecture has its political uses: public buildings being the ornament of a country; it establishes a nation, draws people and commerce, makes the people love their native country, which passion is the original of all great actions in a Commonwealth."⁴¹

By themselves, the hillside site and the use of a classically styled architecture went a long way toward realizing Baker's conception. Classical architecture, with its antiquity, its ordered symmetry, and its association with Rome, had long been accepted, as we have seen, as embodying "Eternal" values of law and order. In England, wrote Baker in 1912, expressing values he shared with most of his contemporaries, it was "the genius of Wren" that had "stamped sanity and sobriety on our architec-

ture." The best buildings of that period "have eminently the attributes of law, order, and government, to the extent, some may say, of dullness, the defect of these qualities."⁴² So it was altogether natural and appropriate, as the British set out to bring law and order to a united South Africa, that Baker should utilize this "grand manner" of architecture for his work in Pretoria. (See plate 15.)

The acropolis capital too was an old and widely acknowledged device to enhance the majesty of government by elevating it above the people. Such classical precedents as Athens and Pergamos were fresh in Baker's mind as he set out to design the Union Buildings. Washington too, though topography ruled out in Pretoria the scheme of a long straight vista, provided "a valuable lesson to us at the present time." Imaginatively, Baker recognized that the hillside site of Meintjes Kop could work as well as the usual grouping of government buildings on a "Capitol Hill." The steep hillside gave him the opportunity, as had the Rhodes Memorial, to elaborate terraces, with gardens and statuary, at different levels, and so to draw the eye ever upward, to the Union Buildings on their shelf 150 feet above the main road, and then a further 150 feet to the ridge top with its proposed dome. As he wrote to Lutyens, the "whole design" was meant to suggest "climbing the hill and leading up to the 'crowning edifice of Union.'"⁴³

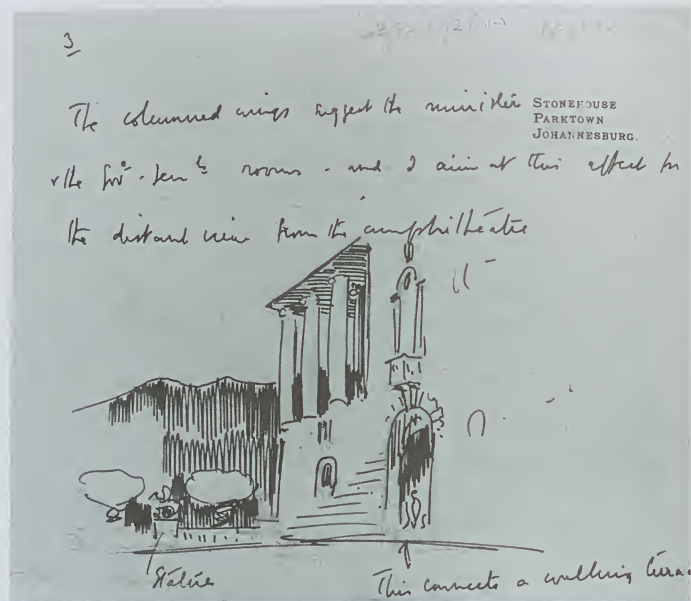
The two identical office blocks, with their twin dome-capped towers, symbolized for Baker the "two races" of South Africa, the Dutch and the English, now reconciled and equal in status; they were linked together, hand in hand as it were, by the semicircular colonnade. The towers, taken from the Royal Naval Hospital at Greenwich, indicate once again Baker's enduring debt to Wren. They framed the central axis, terminated by the dome Baker wished to place on the hilltop. This dome, a "greater symbol of final union," was clearly meant to celebrate a single merged South African nationality of the future.⁴⁴ None of this symbolism made room in any way for South Africa's black population. They were included in Baker's plans only by a scheme for a "small partly open Council Place for Native Indabas [meetings], where, without coming into the Building, Natives may feel the majesty of Government."⁴⁵ Like the dome, the Council Place was never built. Much as the "final union" of the whites, the incorporation of the blacks into South Africa's constitution has remained always unrealized.

Baker broke up the massive exterior of the building with projecting porticoes at the four corners. Inspired by Rhodes's habit of taking visitors

out onto his *stoep* to look at "The Mountain," these columned loggias, which Baker used again in his New Delhi secretariat, were meant to draw the ministers out of their offices so that they might "lift their eyes up to the surrounding hills and . . . the splendours of the high veld, from which they may gather inspiration and visions of greatness" (fig. 47). The amphitheater too, with its semicircular tiers of stone seats laid out in imitation of a Greek theater, had a special purpose. Baker envisaged it as a place where crowds might gather, in classic Greek fashion, to listen to their leaders on national ceremonial occasions; its focus was a columned "rostrum" covered by a small dome.⁴⁶

How far, one must ask, was Baker's conception of the Union Buildings shared by the South African people? Was this an imperial vision imposed from above; or did it reflect, as it shaped, a South African nationalism? Certainly for Baker, and the kindergarten, imperialism was never regarded as at odds with nationalism, especially in a white-dominated land such as South Africa. Milner's "band of brothers" indeed saw in the reconciliation of Boer and Briton, signified by the 1910 Act of Union, the first step toward larger Imperial Federation. As they returned to Britain, their work in South Africa completed, they founded *The Round Table*, a journal devoted to devising strategies for imperial reconstruction. To be a force for peace in a troubled world, the Empire had inevitably, in their view, to accommodate growing colonial nationalism. Yet, as Britain's interests in South Africa, above all in the mining industry, were secured under the 1910 Act, so too was Britain's continuing role as a world power a paramount concern in all the schemes for imperial reconstruction. Colonial nationalism was to be incorporated into the Empire, and thus help sustain it.⁴⁷

Baker's architecture embodied this incorporative concept of empire. At its heart lay the "eternal" classical values; these, like the Empire itself, exalted basic principles of law, order, and government. They needed only to be fitted to the individual needs of the colonial territory, where they would then play their part in "establishing a nation." In a paper prepared for the *Round Table* Baker pointed to the parallels linking classical architecture and British imperialism. "Our rule," he wrote, "confers order, progress, and freedom within the law to develop national civilizations on the lines of their own traditions and sentiment: so in architecture there is infinite scope within the limits of order, true science, and progress for the widest self-expression in every field of art; but without the orderly control of the great principles, there might result a chaos in the arts such as



47. Draft sketch of the Union Buildings, Pretoria. Of this sketch Baker wrote, "The columned wings suggest the ministers' and the governor-general's rooms, and I aim at

this effect for the distant view from the amphitheatre." Letter to Lutyens, 21 October 1909, reproduced by permission of Henry Baker and

by courtesy of the British Architectural Library, RIBA, London.

in governments which History records our rule was ordained to supersede." To adapt his architecture to the conditions of South Africa the architect had principally to take into account the climate, which, in Pretoria, as Baker told Lutyens, involved a "pitiless sun on 300 days, then torrents." There, "one degree from the tropics," not only was the colonnade essential, but so were such features as the five-foot overhanging projection of the roof he had designed for the Union Buildings. Indeed, Baker felt that South Africa's "great spaces washed with sun," so like those of the Mediterranean, were exceptionally well suited for a monumental classical architecture.⁴⁸

This "imperial" conception from the outset shaped the Union Buildings. After 1906, as power began to be transferred to local politicians in anticipation of the award of self-government, the young men of the kindergarten no longer exercised the uncontested sway of Milner's day. Still, their voice remained often decisive. It is no accident that a fellow kindergartner, Robert Brand, was responsible for so much of Baker's success; for Brand not only controlled the Railway Ministry, but in May 1909 was put in charge of planning for the Union Buildings. The secretary of the Public Works Department too, though not one of Milner's men, was a Scottish engineer, Charles Murray, who, Baker wrote, "sympathized with the artistic ideals which I as the architect endeavoured to embody in the building."⁴⁹ These "ideals" too were in their inspiration wholly British, and imperial. The acropolis site, for instance, with its classical associations with empire, appealed to Baker and Brand, not to the old Boer general Louis Botha, at the head of the Transvaal government, who would have been perfectly content with the flat plot of land in the center of the city. The Meintjes Kop site had the further imperial advantage, quickly appreciated by Lady Selborne, of being near Government House, the British governor-general's residence, designed by Baker himself only a few years before.⁵⁰ Though the Crown representative after 1910 exercised only advisory power, still the association of the two buildings on the same level plateau made manifest South Africa's continued incorporation in the larger structure of the British Empire.

Yet, in a South Africa soon to be self-governing, the British could not simply impose outright their own vision. Indeed, as the Union Buildings were meant to "establish a nation," it was essential that the South Africans be brought to share this vision as willing participants. Above all, Baker realized, the leaders of the new government had to see in the Union Buildings what he himself saw there. By far the most responsive was Jan Smuts, in 1909 the Transvaal colonial secretary. "I showed," Baker later wrote, "some rough sketches to General Smuts, and then he went with me to the site. He, with his quick insight and imagination, at once visualized the idea and its power. . . . [He] told me there and then to go ahead with my sketch plans." Once convinced, Smuts remained an enthusiast for Baker's scheme. He not only wrung approval of the Meintjes Kop site from the Transvaal government, but when the Union cabinet later rejected the proposed amphitheater, he quietly told Baker to "put it in and call it terraces." Baker, pleased, regularly consulted with Smuts, whom

he spoke of to Lutyens as "the sympathetic one"; and in March 1911, when Smuts took the lead in defending the Union Buildings from hostile criticism in the new Parliament, Baker sent him a note of thanks.⁵¹ In this easy collaboration with Baker, whose vision he obviously shared, one clearly sees prefigured Smuts's later role as a leading imperial statesman.

Smuts, and Botha with him as prime minister of the Union government, had of course much to gain by participation in the new order the British had initiated; and they appreciated the benefits to South Africa of a rapid healing of the wounds of war. Still, they could go only so far, for their Boer, or Afrikaner, constituency was never wholly reconciled to membership in the imperial system. Some few, indeed, in 1914, angry over South Africa's joining Britain in the First World War, vented their displeasure by a short-lived revolt. Hence Baker grew increasingly discouraged. Already in March 1910 he had put aside plans for a king's statue at the Union Buildings. In 1912, disillusioned with his prospects there, he left South Africa altogether to join Lutyens in the building of New Delhi.⁵² Some years later, after the war, he sought to commemorate South Africa's war dead by reviving the idea of a Temple of Peace, with a Via Sacra, along the crest of Meintjes Kop. Though he won Smuts's approval, domestic opposition to Smuts, and to the war, which bitterly divided South African opinion, caused the scheme to be dropped. South Africa's war memorial was located instead in France, where Baker designed a cemetery monument, inspired by the twin brothers Romulus and Remus appearing to fight for Rome, which depicted "the young manhood of the two races" holding hands in "comradeship over a war horse." A replica of this statue, set up on the terrace of the Union Buildings, alone marked out at Pretoria South Africa's participation in the war; it was, as well, Baker's final contribution to the architecture of the country where he had lived for twenty years.⁵³

Nevertheless, Dutch and English alike, the South African people could comprehend the classical symbolism of the Union Buildings and be drawn, as Baker had intended, to a larger conception of South African nationality. They might reject the imperial vision embedded in the structure, as they did, above all, when they resigned from the Commonwealth in 1960 on, fittingly, the fiftieth anniversary of union. Yet, in much the same way as they took over the structure of Milner's state, so too did the South Africans make Baker's work their own. As one Afrikaans newspaper proudly

proclaimed, as the Union Buildings were going up, Meintjes Kop will "raise itself above Pretoria as a symbol of South Africa's administrative unity and progress."⁵⁴

Curzon and the Revival of Classicism in India

In India a revival of classical architecture took shape during the first decade of the twentieth century under the guiding hand of Lord Curzon, viceroy from 1898 to 1905. Young, energetic, committed to the Empire, Curzon, like his contemporary Milner in South Africa, set out from his first days in India to ensure that its administration embodied the highest principles, as he saw them, of imperial governance. "To fight for the right, to abhor the imperfect, the unjust, or the mean, to swerve neither to the right hand or to the left, to care nothing for flattery or applause or odium or abuse," was, he argued, at once the "watchword" and the "justification" of the Englishman in India.⁵⁵ Hence it is not surprising that Curzon created the one building above all others meant to represent that Raj in stone: to make manifest that "our work is righteous and it shall endure"—the Victoria Memorial in Calcutta, the first major classically styled monument in India in half a century.

Indo-Saracenic design, by now mastered as an architectural style for the Raj, continued throughout the Edwardian era to dominate much British building in India. From Swinton Jacob's Daly College, Indore, to Henry Irwin's Egmore Station and Victoria Memorial Gallery in Madras, the older architects put up an array of structures that turned Indic styles to the needs of empire. Even in Bombay, as we have seen, the years following the turn of the century saw the construction of such major Indo-Saracenic-styled buildings as the General Post Office and the Prince of Wales Museum.⁵⁶ As viceroy, Curzon himself was by no means insensitive to the past that Indo-Saracenic builders sought to incorporate in their work, and he appreciated the value, for particular audiences, of representing Britain's Raj in terms of that past.

India's architectural heritage was, for Curzon, a "priceless heirloom" which "Providence has committed to the custody" of the British government, whose duty it was to "cherish and conserve" it. More energetically than any of his predecessors, Curzon set out to accomplish this objective,

above all by the enactment in 1904 of the Ancient Monuments Bill, which set the Archeological Survey, moribund since Alexander Cunningham's time, on a permanent footing.⁵⁷ At the same time Curzon sought to preserve India's traditional crafts. In 1900 he urged the Amritsar municipality to avoid European designs, which "are commonly base, inartistic, and vulgar," but instead to "adhere to your old Indian and Persian models, which were the product of a race of natural artists, and upon which the modern world will never improve."⁵⁸ Two years later, on the occasion of the Delhi durbar, he organized an art exhibition, which might, he hoped, help "resuscitate these threatened handicrafts, show the world of what India is still capable, and if possible arrest the process of decay." In selecting exhibits, special efforts were "directed to the exclusion of all trace of the modern foreign influences which have tended to debase the ancient indigenous arts of India." Indian art, Curzon insisted, with the crafts enthusiasts, "will never be revived by borrowing foreign ideals, but only by fidelity to its own."⁵⁹

This artificial isolation of India's crafts, with no concern for the problems posed by such fossilization, carried with it a conception of a "traditional" India similar to that of Henry Maine or George Birdwood. Indian art "being strongest in conventionalism and decoration," so the official exhibition catalogue proclaimed, "it was thought wisest to treat the Fine Arts as the highest utilisation of industrial materials." The Indian states too, in Curzon's view, "amid the levelling tendencies of the age . . . keep alive the traditions and customs, sustain the virility, and save from extinction the picturesqueness of ancient and noble races"; hence their princes bore the major responsibility for "the purification of modern tastes, and for a reversion to the old-fashioned but exquisite styles and patterns of their own country." The princes, as Curzon told the maharaja of Jaipur, must be "trained to all the advantages of Western culture, but yet not divorced in instinct or in mode of life from their own people."⁶⁰

Princely building in the Indo-Saracenic style was therefore at once appropriate to their position and gave evidence that the princes were carrying out their proper role as patrons of India's art. Opening the new Victoria College in Gwalior, Curzon said that, although for the most part recent work was "incomparably inferior" to that of the past, occasionally "in modern buildings that reproduce the architecture of the Mogul epoch . . . I have observed traces of the old grace and imagination." He went on to praise Sindhia for incorporating in this building "some specimens of

the carving in stone for which Gwalior has long been famous, and which seems to me to perpetuate with a great deal of fidelity and some originality the classical productions of a bygone age."⁶¹

Curzon himself employed Indo-Saracenic styles where they reaffirmed the conception of Britain as the legitimate ruler of a "traditional" India. Of these occasions, in which the British portrayed themselves enthroned amidst their loyal feudatories, by far the most spectacular was the Delhi durbar of 1902. For this durbar, held to celebrate the coronation of Edward VII as king-emperor, Curzon for the most part followed with careful precision the precedent set by Lytton's 1877 Imperial Assemblage, when Victoria was proclaimed empress. He made, however, several innovations designed to emphasize more clearly Britain's position as the rightful successor to the throne of the Mughals. Lytton's use of European feudal symbolism Curzon regarded as wholly inappropriate. "Neither was there," he wrote, "in the structural design or decorations (which consisted exclusively of bunting, shields, flags and streamers) anything suggestive of the East. So far as these features were concerned, the ceremony might equally well have taken place in Hyde Park." Hence he employed Swinton Jacob, whom he praised as "the best professional architect in India," to prepare a design. This consisted of a horseshoe-shaped amphitheater with a dais set against the inner rim. Above the dais was placed "a roof or canopy constructed in the shape of a Saracenic dome," while "the same feature, varied with small kiosks and ornaments borrowed from the Mogul architecture," was "reproduced in the embellishment" of the amphitheater. Jacob's original design had included, with these "oriental outlines," some "European features," among them bunting and flags. "These," Curzon proudly proclaimed, "I have gradually succeeded in eliminating," so that the amphitheater was "built and decorated exclusively in the Mogul, or Indo-Saracenic style." Even the timber and plaster frame was painted "marble-white or white and sandstone red" to give the "illusion" of a palatial Mughal structure. The temporary building to house the art exhibition was also erected in an Indo-Saracenic style.⁶²

To complete the "illusion," Curzon proceeded to hold the investiture ceremony for the Indian orders of knighthood in the Diwan-i-Am of Shah Jahan's Red Fort. For this occasion, the emperor's original throne being regarded as too high above the floor to be suitable, Curzon had his seat placed on "the marble slab immediately below it, on which the Ministers

are said to have stood to hand up petitions to the Emperor." Grouped beneath were the members of the orders; outside the original Diwan-i-Am, Curzon constructed an extension "exactly corresponding to it in shape and dimensions" to provide the auditorium for the main body of spectators, and subsequently, transformed into a "fairy palace" by the blaze of electric lights, to host the State Ball at the conclusion of the durbar. The symbolism of this setting was not lost upon observers. Though none too happy with the use of this historic building as a ballroom, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* told its readers that it was in the Diwan-i-Am that "the later Moghul emperors held their daily court, and it was eminently fitting that here should be held the court of the representative of an Emperor greater even than they of the house of Timour."⁶³

Where the durbar was not "illusion," it was conceived of as theater, with roles carefully assigned to the various players. Throughout Curzon sought above all to incorporate the princes as active participants in his drama of empire. "My one desire," as he told Jaipur, "has been that the Indian Princes, instead of being mere spectators of the ceremony, as they were in 1877, should be actors in it." Hence, for instance, the major princes each came forward to make an act of homage to the king-emperor's representative. The use of an Indo-Saracenic-styled architecture at the durbar thus served a specific purpose: that of representing the incorporation of the princes into the Indic imperial structure of the British. The princes participated for the same reasons they themselves built Indo-Saracenic-styled palaces: in part because they realized that the British expected it of them, and in part too because they had to some degree convinced themselves that they were the ancient aristocracy of a "traditional" India. It was after all an admittedly appealing notion. There could be no doubt, however, where the initiative lay. As Curzon said in thanking the Jaipur maharaja for his praise of the durbar plans, "I am glad that Your Highness has so thoroughly understood and so generously appreciated my desires."⁶⁴

Indo-Saracenic architecture had, then, for Curzon an important but limited role to play in empire. A regional style, appropriate to northern India and the specific needs of a particular audience, it provided a constructed stage setting, as one might call it, on which Indian princes and British officials could together enact the shared rituals that defined a "traditional" India. Elsewhere, Curzon's affirmation of empire spoke not of Mughal ritual but of law, order, and efficiency in government. Hence it

required a different architectural expression. In Calcutta, as in Pretoria or on the Mall in London, as the British sought increasingly to display their power, they turned to the enduring forms of European classicism as the most appropriate architecture in which to celebrate empire.

On 6 February 1901, less than two weeks after Victoria's death, Curzon addressed a public meeting in the Calcutta Town Hall. "Let us," he told the crowd, in her honor, "have a building, stately, spacious, monumental, and grand, to which every newcomer in Calcutta will turn, to which all the resident population, European and Native, will flock, where all classes will learn the lessons of history, and see revived before their eyes the marvels of the past." From the outset he was determined that the Memorial ought to be a "standing record" of the "wonderful history" of the British Raj, and that it should be located in Calcutta, the city the Raj had created as its own. He firmly opposed the selection of Delhi. "It is now too late," he said, with a singular lack of foresight, "to turn Delhi again into an imperial capital." However famous its past or central its location, he insisted, a city "where the Government of India is never found, which is not even the capital of a local government, and where there is neither a European civil nor military population of any size," could not be the site of an "Imperial monument to the first Queen-Empress." A building in Delhi too, he argued, if constructed in the Indo-Saracenic style, would inevitably invite unfavorable comparison with the "incomparable works of the past"; if built in a European style, the structure "would be completely out of harmony with every one of its surroundings, and would be an absurd anachronism in or adjacent to what is eminently a native and non-European town."⁶⁵

In a speech before the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Curzon went on to specify, in his usual careful and precise manner, the individuals whom the Memorial ought to honor. Indians were by no means to be excluded. In addition to religious and social reformers from the sixteenth-century Guru Nanak to the near contemporary Keshub Chunder Sen, and various "eminent" princes and landlords, he was prepared to admit even "those who have fought against the British," provided only that "their memories are not sullied with dishonor or crime." Among them he included Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan of Mysore and "the brave Rani of Jhansi." But by far the longer list was of the "line of distinguished men" who have "helped build up the fabric of British dominion in India," and hence were "entitled to the honour of grateful commemoration at the

hands of posterity." The whole project involved nothing less than the construction for the Raj of a past in India. The Memorial would, so Curzon concluded, "teach more history and better history than a studyful [*sic*] of books," and at the same time "do much to bind together the two races whom Providence, for its mysterious ends, has associated in the administration of this great Empire."⁶⁶

Not everyone shared Curzon's construction of the history of the Raj, nor his expectation that a memorial so conceived could evoke a sense of "public patriotism" among the Indian people. As Sir Alfred Lyall, and with him Sir John Woodburn, the lieutenant-governor of Bengal, pointed out, among "the educated and half-educated natives" there was growing up a "kind of nationalism that is little disposed to join us in celebrating the achievements in war and politics of the English." Indeed, he reminded Curzon, in the festivals organized by Tilak "the cultivation of Sivajee's memory was taking, not long ago, a distinct anti-English direction." Curzon's response was simply to include Shivaji in the Memorial. "If I put Sivaji into the same fabric as Warren Hastings," he told Lyall, "I do not injure the fame of Warren Hastings but I take the sting out of Sivaji."⁶⁷

The architectural style, too, raised the question of the building's audience and of how educated Indian opinion, in particular, was meant to respond to it. The rejection of Delhi for Calcutta carried with it, on Curzon's part, almost inevitably a commitment to a European style. He appreciated that "at first sight" it might "be thought that a building erected with Indian money on Indian soil should be in the Indian style." But, he went on, there "is no distinctively Indian style." Echoing Fergusson, he argued that there were only "the various styles that have been connected with different periods of Indian religious or monumental art." None of these, however, was, in his view, indigenous to Calcutta; nor were any suited to the purposes of a gallery or museum. In Calcutta, as he wrote later, "a city of European origin and construction, where all the main buildings had been erected in a quasi-classical or Palladian style, and which possessed no indigenous architectural style of its own, it was impossible to erect a building in any native style." Furthermore, he insisted, the only style "indisputably suited" to the needs of a museum was the classical, in which "as nearly as possible every art gallery and museum in the world" had been built.⁶⁸

Much of this argument made no attempt to take account of alternative views. Indeed it amounted in practice to no more than a justi-

fication of a decision taken beforehand on other grounds. Curzon had himself, for instance, praised Swinton Jacob's Albert Hall Museum, of Indo-Saracenic design, as "the best specimen of a modern Indian building," and he urged W. H. Emerson, his chosen architect, to visit Jaipur and consult with Jacob, on his journey to Calcutta. Others denied that an Indic design would inevitably be out of place in Calcutta. E. B. Havell, superintendent of the Calcutta art school, argued that the most suitable style would be "something similar to the Mogul architecture of Bijapur, which is so simple and dignified in character that it can easily be made to harmonise with the style of Government House or with European statuary." Lord Amthill in Madras urged the construction of "some masterpiece of Indian art and architecture, such as a pavilion of carved marble," while A. P. MacDonnell in the North-Western Provinces suggested that, as "Asoka has his pillars, so should the Great Queen have her cenotaphs, or to use the Native terms *chattris* or *Burj* or *kirti stambha* . . . small elegant structures such as Native skill raised in the old days of Hindu and Saracenic design." He told Curzon, moreover, precisely where in Fergusson's *History* he could find illustrated appropriate examples.⁶⁹

Curzon was not unmoved by the thought of Queen Victoria's memorial set alongside those of the emperor Asoka, who "has spoken to posterity for 2200 years through his inscriptions on rock and stone." But he stood firm throughout against any Indic design. Indeed, to ensure that the project took the shape he wished, Curzon from the outset involved himself in every detail of the work. He not only dictated the choice of style but closely supervised the design. Initially uncertain whom to employ, Curzon began by ruling out all local architects. Though able to erect "very pretty buildings in different varieties of the Hindu and Saracenic styles," none of these men were, in his view, equipped to undertake "what ought to be one of the architectural masterpieces of the world." But he recognized the difficulty of employing someone fresh from England with no knowledge of Indian conditions. In the end, though with some reluctance, he accepted the recommendation of Viscount Esher at the Office of Works to employ Sir William Emerson. Then president of the Royal Institute of British Architects, Emerson had an unquestioned reputation within the profession, while his earlier Indian experience at the same time provided a "strong point" in his favor. He was, so Esher argued, "capable and intelligent, and above all *experienced*." Of course Emerson did not, Esher warned Curzon, "possess a very original mind."

Yet this "deficiency" was no cause for alarm. "You," Esher told Curzon, "can supply enough imagination, Heaven knows." Curzon in turn readily agreed that Emerson was attractive precisely because he was "more amenable" to direction than other available architects. After Emerson's first visit to Calcutta, Curzon reported that "he worked very hard over sketches, plans, etc., in order to carry out my views; and although he did not inspire me as a man of imagination or ideas, yet I should think that he could present us with what we want quite as well as anyone else."⁷⁰

For his part Emerson, despite his extensive work in the Indo-Saracenic style, culminating in the Muir College at Allahabad, did his best to accommodate Curzon's wishes. He brought with him to Calcutta, along with his preliminary sketches, "many scores of photographs of the most beautiful or famous classical buildings in the world." He ruled out, however, a "severe Classic" style because the funds were insufficient for the large blocks of marble such a design required, and because the need to shade the walls with projecting cornices would, he argued, provoke "scholarly critics" to complain of a departure from "strict precedent in detail."⁷¹ In the end Emerson and Curzon together shaped a white marble structure in the Palladian, or Italian Renaissance, style. (See plate 16.) The building was set upon a large terrace five feet above the ground, with a "colossal entrance archway" cut into the main facade at its center. In front of the archway, set upon a pedestal, was a bronze statue of Queen Victoria as she was at the time of the 1897 Jubilee. The main facades, facing north and south, terminated at either end in towers and were connected at the ends with curving, open colonnades. At the heart of the building was the Queen's Hall, a circular chamber containing a "white marble crowned statue of the Queen as a young woman." Grouped around this central hall were the various exhibition galleries, with, on one side, a large durbar hall for such ceremonial occasions as investitures in the Indian orders of knighthood. A "lofty" dome, capped by a bronze figure of Victory, rose 180 feet above the central hall. The building was initially meant to be placed at the northeast corner of the *maidan* not far from Government House, but that congested site was subsequently abandoned for its far southern end, where the building was aligned with the main east-west axis of the nearby cathedral.⁷² Though perhaps not as effective symbolically as an alignment with Government House, still the cathedral site, with the spacious open setting this location made possible,

made manifest the ties of Britain's Raj to Christianity, as well as its power and majesty as India's government.

Despite their overall agreement, Curzon and Emerson differed on several elements of the design. One was the extent to which the building ought to have an "oriental feeling." As an Indo-Saracenic builder accustomed to eclectic designs, Emerson argued that "a style, occidental in character, which however might admit of freedom of treatment, and have blended with it a suggestion of oriental feeling in some details, would best express the sentiment of a Western Monarch reigning over this splendid country." So he endeavored to provide a "suggestion of orientalism" within the Renaissance design by the arrangement of the corner domes and in the details of some smaller features, such as the cantilevers under the cornices, "which, while being Italian, may well have some feeling of the beautiful forms found in many parts of India."⁷³

Even this limited introduction of "Oriental" forms did not please Curzon. Already in August 1902, before he had received the final designs, he had told Emerson that "perfect simplicity of classical form and design, and adherence to accepted illustrations or adaptations of those—rather than a striving after the original or unusual—would produce the best results." A year later, with the detailed drawings in hand, he singled out for criticism those features, above all the corner towers, that incorporated "Oriental" elements. The towers were too small and their domes too "squat," he insisted, while the architraves over their windows also "represented a rather different and less classical style of Renaissance than the remainder of the building." He suggested that Emerson instead take as his model the western towers of St. Paul's Cathedral in London. This suggestion Emerson, committed to securing at least a "slightly Indian effect" in these towers, indignantly rejected.⁷⁴

Yet Curzon himself, while repudiating Indic elements in its design, could not wholly avoid measuring the Memorial against the great works of India's past, above all the Taj Mahal. No doubt, as he admitted, there could be "no greater rashness than to attempt a modern Taj," for to do so would be to "invite certain failure." Nevertheless, from the very beginning, Curzon kept the Taj in mind as he planned the Memorial. Sometimes it was as an unreachable goal. "The terrace of the Taj," he wrote Emerson, "is eighteen feet high. We cannot aspire to that; but we must get as much above the ground level as we can." He took pride, however,

in the fact that the diameter of the Queen's Hall was to be sixty-four feet, while the tomb chamber of the Taj was sixty feet; and a tessellated pavement of black and white marble for the terrace appealed to him, for "here too . . . we shall be imitating the Taj."⁷⁵ Curzon was determined as well, despite Emerson's objections on grounds of cost and availability, to procure the marble for the structure from the same quarry near Jodhpur from which the marble for the Taj and other Mughal buildings had been drawn.⁷⁶

Curzon and Emerson disagreed most vigorously over the sculptural embellishment of the Memorial. At issue was not only aesthetics, but the persisting question of how the past of the Raj was to be represented, and who was the intended audience for this representation. Emerson, on his part, put forward a scheme of extensive ornamentation. He wished, first of all, to place on the dome as grouped consoles the four cardinal virtues, Fortitude, Prudence, Justice, and Charity; and, then, at the apex of the two porches, seated figures of Britannia. Beneath, "as Britannia rules the waves, a picturesque sculpture on the frieze of the North Porch should represent the battleships in vogue at the end of the Queen's reign; and on the south side the men-of-war in use at the commencement of the last century, thus exhibiting the progress and development of the Navy during the late Queen's reign." Reclining figures in the porch arches would represent the progress of science, art, and commerce. The history of British India itself would be indicated by bas-reliefs, inscriptions, and frescoes throughout the building. Among them Emerson included the coats of arms of the viceroys, shields bearing such inscriptions as "Plassey, 1757, Clive" and "Abolition of Suttee, 1829, Bentinck," together with mosaics of subjects such as the opening of the Suez Canal. Outside the building, one on each side of the steps leading past the queen's statue to the terrace, would be the British lion and the Indian tiger in bronze.⁷⁷

Curzon examined this elaborate decorative scheme with dismay. No one, he told Emerson, ever looks at the "recumbent marble ladies" in the spandrels of arches, or studies the bas-reliefs placed high above the viewer's head. With the Taj Mahal again in mind, he reminded Emerson of the "grand simplicity" of Mughal buildings, "which but for their bold inscriptions or enamelled tile-work depended little upon elaboration in ornament, and never put anything where it was not positively required." The political implication too of much of the decoration disturbed him. Sculptured battleships and naval scenes would not, he said, "be appreciated in India"; and, so far as Plassey was concerned, "the less we say

about the battles we have won over the Indians, the better." He was prepared to accept only the lion and tiger flanking the entrance, and the shields and names of the governors-general who ruled India during the reign of the queen, together with plaques commemorating Victoria's own connection with India, as for instance the 1858 Proclamation of Crown rule.⁷⁸

Emerson protested the stripping of so much of the ornamentation from his design. "If denuded of all sculpture," he argued, "a building, however boldly and finely designed, seems to my mind to lack living interest." He fought vigorously, and to a large degree successfully, to retain the sculptural decoration. Curzon too, in the end, took pride in much of the sculpture, above all that which celebrated Britain's imperial achievement. Years later he described the lion's head "with water flowing out of it and passing into four troughs representing the four great Indian rivers—the Ganges, the Krishna, the Indus, and the Jumna—thus symbolizing the life-giving work of Britain in India."⁷⁹

For Curzon the Victoria Memorial had clearly a double audience. One was in Europe. Like Aston Webb's Mall, the Memorial was meant to impress the English and their continental rivals alike with the power and splendor of the Raj. As a "visible monument" and "standing record" of its "glorious" past, the Memorial could help evoke a pride in empire among a people who "hardly realized what their predecessors in India had done." For this purpose an avowedly and visibly classical style could alone be effective. At the same time, within India Curzon sought, rather as Baker had done in South Africa with the Union Buildings, to draw conqueror and conquered together so that they might share a larger sense of common purpose, and a common past. The Indians, he wrote some years later in discussing the Memorial, "unconscious of what a century and a half of Anglo-Indian connection had effected, were disposed, in the rising tide of national feeling, to find a justification for the latter in the memory of a remote and largely unhistorical past, or in dreams of a still more visionary future. Was there not, I thought, in the history of India itself in the past two centuries sufficient to gratify the sentiments both of pride and of hope?"⁸⁰

Despite Curzon's occasional wistful desire to emulate the Taj, the Memorial was meant, unlike the Delhi durbar, to create a "modern" not a "traditional" past for the Raj in India. The events marked out in sculpture were those, like Bentinck's abolition of sati, that defined India's modern progress, while India's British rulers were depicted, not seated on the

throne of the Mughals, but, like the statues of Hastings and Cornwallis, as lawgivers clad in Roman garb. For that reason too the building had to be located in Calcutta, India's most "modern" city, at the heart of its most educated and politically active province. The princes were invited to contribute, and a gallery was set aside for them in the building, but it was primarily the educated Indian who was meant to learn "patriotism" from Victoria's Memorial. Hence Emerson's Indo-Saracenic enthusiasms had rigorously to be suppressed; for only a building garbed, like its viceregal statues, in European classical forms, could evoke, for an English-educated audience, in Calcutta as in Pretoria, a sense of participation in a shared imperial enterprise.

Yet the Victoria Memorial could never convey the same meaning as the Union Buildings. Curzon appreciated, to be sure, that the history of the Raj had to be represented with care. Events that might offend Indian sensibilities, like the Battle of Plassey, were to be discreetly omitted, while Shivaji, together with Britain's "honorable" opponents, were to be magnanimously incorporated into this construction of the Raj. The Indians were not, however, at all likely to forget Plassey. Nor was Curzon, unlike Baker in his relations with Smuts, prepared to take Indians into his confidence. Even though he solicited their views, no Indians were involved in the monument's planning or construction. This of course only reflected the fact that there was no thought in India of sharing power even with a collaborating elite. The Memorial represented always an imposed power. Afrikaner opposition denied Milner and Edward VII a place in the Union Buildings. By contrast, despite Curzon's concern for Indian sentiment, a full-sized statue of Clive dominated the Sculpture Gallery of the Victoria Memorial, while the busts along its walls depicted British "heroes" of the Mutiny, not the begam of Oudh or even the rani of Jhansi.⁸¹ Under such circumstances there was no hope, even with the building's classical forms, of realizing Curzon's larger design. As Alfred Lyall told him at the very outset, its "peculiar conditions and circumstances" rendered "the establishment in India of a National Monument on the scale that you contemplate . . . less likely to be acclaimed universally than in the European countries or capitals to which you have referred for examples."⁸² Long before the Memorial was completed in 1921, no one could doubt the truth of this appraisal.

7

New Delhi:

The Beginning of the End

On 12 December 1911, at a durbar in Delhi to celebrate his recent coronation as king-emperor, George V announced the transfer of the Indian capital from Calcutta to Delhi. A move undertaken in large part to enable the government to escape the uncomfortable political atmosphere of Calcutta, marked by continued and often violent demonstrations of nationalist sentiment since Lord Curzon's 1905 partition of Bengal, the transfer foreshadowed a renewed alliance of the Raj with the princes and with the Muslims of northern India, for whom Delhi had "historic associations." The change involved as well an effort, anticipated by the earlier Delhi durbars, to lay claim to India's past. As the viceroy, Lord Hardinge, wrote in support of the decision, "Delhi is still a name to conjure with. It is intimately associated in the minds of the Hindus with sacred legends which go back even beyond the dawn of history. . . . To the Mohamedans it would be a source of unbounded gratification to see the ancient capital of the Moguls restored to its proud position as the seat of the Empire." The secretary of state, Lord Crewe, declared that the creation of a new capital would be taken as "an unfaltering determination to maintain British rule in India."¹ The transfer nevertheless went hand in hand with Britain's first defeat in its dealings with India's nationalists; for the king-emperor, from the same platform, announced the revocation of the partition of Bengal and the creation in its place of a united province dominated by the English-educated *bhadralok* elite. The new capital, for all the grandeur of its conception, was to mark the beginning of the end.

The shift of the capital raised in urgent fashion the question of how the Empire ought most appropriately to be represented in stone. Despite

its illustrious past, the Delhi of 1911, a mere district headquarters, was in no way fit to house the imperial government. Indeed, one of the attractions of the transfer was the opportunity it provided for the elaboration of an imperial architecture. As the king himself said at the durbar, "It is my desire that the planning and designing of the public buildings to be erected will be considered with the greatest deliberation and care, so that the new creation may be in every way worthy of this ancient and beautiful city."² But there was no consensus as to what style of architecture would bring about this objective. Hence different interests and different conceptions of architecture struggled to shape the design of the new imperial capital. On one side were the partisans of Indo-Saracenic design, who saw in the relocation of the capital in the Mughal heartland an opportunity for Britain to emulate her great imperial predecessors, above all Akbar, the builder of Fatehpur Sikri, and Shah Jahan, whose Shahjahanabad, the seat of the later Mughal emperors, was the heart of the Delhi of the nineteenth century. An Indic-styled Delhi attracted the crafts enthusiasts too, as they saw in it an opportunity for the country's artisans to participate at last in the construction of major public buildings. Yet at the same time the assertive imperialism of the Edwardian era, as we have seen, insisted that the forms of European classicism alone could adequately represent empire in stone. As the king was speaking at the Coronation durbar, Baker's classically styled Union Buildings and Curzon's Victoria Memorial were both in the process of construction.

In the end, Indo-Saracenic design was decisively repudiated. Yet classicism, as the viceroy, Lord Hardinge, and with him Herbert Baker, sought to "orientalise" its forms, secured but an uncertain victory. The chief designer of the new capital, Edwin Lutyens, committed to the aesthetic purity of beaux-arts design, on his part contemptuously rejected Indic forms and at the same time assimilated them into an architecture stamped with an extraordinary personal genius. But Lutyens's work set no lasting tradition. In architecture as in politics, the building of New Delhi was to mark out the beginning of the end of Britain's mastery over India.

The Struggle for an Indic-Styled Capital

Within ten days of the Coronation durbar, on 22 December 1911, E. B. Havell, now retired from his post as principal of the Calcutta School of

Art, launched the first salvo in the campaign for an "Indic" Delhi. In a letter to the *Times* he pointed out that, with the move to Delhi, the capital "will leave the commercial atmosphere of Calcutta, with its shoddy imitations of European architecture—its bastard Gothic and emasculated Italian Renaissance—and find itself in the heart of Hindustan, where the artistic traditions of Indian building are still, for all practical architectural purposes, as much alive as they were when Akbar, by calling into the service of the State the skill of Hindu temple builders, gave Saracenic architecture in India a wonderful new impulse." He urged the Indian government, with the "finest models of Mogul design" so near at hand, to take advantage at last of India's traditions of construction and design.³

Havell continued throughout the subsequent year to press for the adoption in Delhi of an Indic-styled architecture. Challenged by Curzon and Baker, he insisted that it was no more difficult to adapt Mughal palaces to modern requirements than it had been in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries for the architects of that day to adapt Greek and Roman temples to their secular requirements. No doubt, he said, Shah Jahan's buildings were too extravagant. But none of Akbar's palaces at Fatehpur Sikri or in the Agra Fort was "unreasonably costly." These buildings were, indeed, "of a serious and dignified style which any competent European architect in sympathy with Indian craftsmen could adapt to modern purposes." The case for Indic architecture, however, for Havell went beyond mere considerations of cost. At issue was Britain's mission in India. "We are trustees for India's intellectual and material possessions," he told the East India Association in an impassioned plea; "we have Imperial pledges to fulfill. India, the real India, needs a Renaissance of her own art. . . . Whatever the Renaissance may mean to us, it means only one thing in India—the ruin of Indian craftsmanship, the intellectual impoverishment of the educated classes, and the strangling of Indian art."⁴

Havell's call for an Indic architecture at Delhi did not, then, stand by itself. With it was incorporated a larger project of reviving, or sustaining, the whole of India's traditional culture and means of livelihood. Havell admitted that India's art had "lost vitality" and needed "the judicious artistic application of Western science and mechanical invention." Nevertheless, he insisted, the British Empire must not be "a battering ram for pulverising the effete social and industrial organisation of Hinduism." Britain's message to India must not be that she must "entirely forsake her own learning, her craft, her art, and her science, and humbly sit at the

feet of Europe to learn civilization." Above all else, in Havell's view, the government had a duty to preserve India's village-based economy. In words that at once harked back to Ruskin and anticipated Mahatma Gandhi, he argued that the government must come forward as "the active and sympathetic defender of the village weaver, both the artisan and the artist, against the assaults of Western capitalism; instead of being regarded as the strongest ally of the capitalist in extending the worse than savagery of European industrial slums to India."⁵

Yet Havell was no Gandhi, for he accepted the concept of a "traditional" India, in need of British guidance, that underlay the late-Victorian view of empire. The "heart of India," as he saw it, was represented not by "the India of the Indian leaders," who had been "progressively captured by European Rationalism," but by "the Indian people abiding by the Indian traditions." Britain's task was to secure "the goodwill of this India." A Delhi built by Indian craftsmen working under British supervision "would prove that Indian and British Imperial interests were not antagonistic, but really and truly identical." In this way Britain would "give India of her best" and at the same time "use both for her own and India's advancement, all the resources of Indian culture and practical experience." From such a "reconciliation between Eastern and Western ideals" could spring, indeed, not only a revitalized Raj but "a greater Renaissance than the world has ever known." A "message of hope for India," New Delhi would stand as a lasting challenge at once to the "Europeanized" nationalism of India's elites and the "degradation" of modern capitalism.⁶

As the debate over Delhi intensified, others rallied to Havell's standard. Already in 1910, before the transfer of the capital, the India Society, organized to study Indian culture "in all its aesthetic aspects," had pressed the India Office to undertake a study of the "living traditions" of Indian art and architecture. In response the government had sent Gordon Sanderson of the Archeological Survey on a photographic tour of northern India and then in 1912, following the durbar, hurried his report, accompanied by ninety-three illustrations of Indian buildings, into print. Architecture, Sanderson concluded, despite a decline in British India, was still, especially in the princely states of Rajputana, a "living art," with "excellent master craftsmen" to be found "in plenty." In an introduction to the report, John Begg, consulting architect to the Government of India, added his authority to its plea for the revitalization of India's building crafts. Oriental architecture, he said, though now decadent, was still a

"living tradition" that could be "modernized" to "supply all the complex needs of modern India."⁷

Meanwhile, on 6 February 1913, as Sanderson's report was being printed, a group of prominent artists, scholars, and members of both Houses of Parliament presented to the India Office a petition urging the employment of Indian craftsmen in the construction of New Delhi. Among the 175 signatories were Thomas Hardy, George Bernard Shaw, poet laureate Alfred Austin, art historian Ananda Coomaraswamy, the duke of Newcastle, and Lord Napier of Magdala. Nowadays, they argued, although in England no "traditional" craftsmen survived, but only "mechanics dully earning a living," in India the force of "genuine craftsmanship" remained "vital and tremendous." The government ought therefore to take advantage of this "unbroken building tradition of more than 2,000 years" and build the new capital, as "all the great buildings of the world" have been erected, by using "the master-builder with his craftsmen, working in accustomed materials upon the site from simple instructions as to accommodation and arrangement such as would have been given to a master-mason or a master-carpenter by a medieval king or bishop." In so doing the British government would at once save from "extinction" this "living craftsmanship" and "tie the natives of India more closely" to the "Mother Country."⁸

Havell, with those like-minded enthusiasts who organized the 1913 petition, was concerned almost wholly with the opportunity Delhi afforded for the revival of Indian crafts production. For others, especially those who had themselves worked as builders in India, what mattered most was the architectural style chosen for the new city. Apprehensive over the challenge posed by the classical revival, they took care to point out what they saw as the inappropriate political implications of the selection of such a style. Begg, for example, in concluding his introduction to Sanderson's report, argued that "a Western manner" in Delhi would only announce a period that is past—that of the "mere Western occupation of the country." Why, he asked, "should the style of our Capital be such as to express most strongly those alien characteristics in the administration which every year tend more and more to disappear?" The "architectural note we sound in the new capital" should suggest instead "the reawakened India of the present and future."⁹

F. O. Oertel, superintending engineer of Allahabad, home on leave at the end of a long career in India with the Public Works Department, argued even more forcefully on behalf of the incorporation of Indian archi-

tectural styles in the new capital. With Begg he insisted that "those who advocate a Colonial Renaissance style . . . forget the true significance of the move to Delhi and of our position in the country." We are not, he reminded the East India Association, "in India as colonists intent on making a home there as nearly like the one we have left behind," but rather to "exercise Imperial sway . . . with the consent of the people and for their benefit." The transfer of the capital signified afresh that India was to be ruled "for India's benefit alone and according to Indian sentiment, thereby consolidating the union between India and England for their mutual advantage." As the British Indian educational system, blighted by the "anglicism" of Macaulay's Minute, had been a "failure," so too in architecture would the use of styles foreign to the "understanding" of the Indian peasant inevitably mean that the British Raj itself "will remain foreign to him, however just, equitable, and beneficial it may be."¹⁰

To find a "really national Indian style," Oertel continued, the designers of the new Delhi had only to look at the buildings of the "great Emperor Akbar." At his hilltop capital of Fatehpur Sikri, employing mostly Hindu craftsmen, Akbar had created, Oertel said, expressing the long-standing British view of that emperor's building, a "truly Indian style, bringing into happy union both Hindu and Muhammadan forms." Now that we "are establishing our capital at the seat of the old Moghal Empire," urged Oertel, "let us endeavour to follow in the footsteps of Akbar." Nor would this be difficult. Such designers as Swinton Jacob had already erected many "successful" buildings inspired by the style of Fatehpur Sikri, and there existed besides "quite a number of clever Indian draftsmen, trained in Jaipur, who have attained sufficient skill in the style to enable them to successfully compete whenever designs for public buildings are called for in India."¹¹

Oertel insisted, as he wrote privately to Lord Curzon, that he did not hold "the extreme views" of Havell, and that he had no objection to such buildings as the Viceroy's House and the Council Chamber being designed in the Italian Renaissance or other Western style. In the controversy over Delhi, however, the crafts enthusiasts and the Indo-Saracenic architects found themselves for the most part in agreement. To be sure, Havell remained adamantly opposed to the use of any Western style, and he still disdained the "archeological pedantry" of the Indo-Saracenic builder. He nevertheless acknowledged that at Delhi the craftsmen would have to be "directed" by Europeans, and that it might well be necessary

to employ the "Orientalized" designs of a British architect. The program suggested in the 1913 petition was, he later admitted, "a counsel of artistic perfection." What mattered was that the official architects associate themselves, as "fellow artists and craftsmen," with those, "descendents of the very men who built Fatehpur-Sikri, Delhi, and Agra," who still kept alive India's ancient building traditions. Although Oertel, on his side, remained skeptical of the widespread existence of untutored "indigenous talent," with such men as T. H. Hendley, R. F. Chisholm, and Swinton Jacob, he agreed that the best arrangement for the building of New Delhi would be "a combination of the European architect with the Indian craftsman."¹²

For the exponents of an "Indic"-styled Delhi, then, the new capital was meant to signify the ending of an empire based on conquest, and its replacement by one derived from "the consent and support of the people." The selection of a style for Delhi, as Oertel pointed out, was "a question, not of what is most to *our* taste and liking, but of what suits India best and is most in harmony with the feelings of the Indians, especially since the mass of the people using the new public buildings will be Indian and not European." The reliance on Indian craftsmen, and an Indic-styled architecture, would visibly proclaim the coming into being of this new, more sympathetic Raj. Following in the footsteps of the ruler they saw as the "wise" Akbar, the British could at once reconstruct the bridge of understanding between communities which his "intolerant" successor, Aurangzeb, had "deliberately" broken down, and "guide" India's progress, "not by forcing Western forms upon it, but by aiding its natural development."¹³

This determination to reconcile "East" and "West" under the "fostering care" of the Raj flowed in part from the growing interest in, and more favorable appreciation of, India's artistic heritage. Unlike those who had gone before in the crafts movement, Havell, even as principal of the Calcutta School of Art, was drawn to the study of India's fine arts as well as its crafts, and in his historical writing he consistently challenged the notion that everything of value in India's art was derived from foreign sources. Nor did Havell stand alone. In 1911 Vincent Smith, announcing that a "change of opinion was in progress," published the first comprehensive *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*. The next year Ananda Coomaraswamy made known, for the first time, the existence of Rajput miniature painting; his comprehensive account, published in 1916, so

Pramod Chandra has written, "changed entirely the understanding of Indian painting." As the West's own self-confidence waned—its "self-complacency and conceit" now widely under attack—even India's religions, with the artistic forms that represented them, ceased to be so repellent and so threatening. "We recognize in the Buddha type of sacred figure," wrote thirteen artists and critics in a letter to the *Times* in 1910, "one of the great artistic inspirations of the world." In opposition to the disparaging views of such men as the aging George Birdwood, they went on to express the hope that India's art would continue to preserve "those ancient and profound religious conceptions which are the glory of India and of all the Eastern world."¹⁴

Enthusiasm for an "Indic" Delhi, and a more sympathetic Raj, embodied as well a fear of what the future might hold for British rule in India. The political climate too, as well as the cultural, was changing. Many elements of course, in the views of men like Havell, continued from the past. The notion, above all, of a "traditional" India, which "still clings proudly to her own spiritual and intellectual heritage," was hardly new. But it was now essential, as never before, to win the support of this India—an India of princes and peasants and artisans. A tone of urgency marked Havell's pleas that they be incorporated into the Raj by a capital city that spoke to them in familiar architectural language and provided employment for their traditional crafts. An India so conceived inevitably excluded the English-educated. But this was no cause for regret. Indeed, Havell insisted, before the British could succeed in the task of reconciling "Eastern and Western ideals," they had first to overcome the legacy of "Macaulayism," which for eighty years had fueled a "philistine war of extermination against Hinduism." Such animosity toward the educated, who had repudiated their own heritage, was by no means new. But the Westernized elite, caught up in "sedition," now posed a threat to the Raj. Havell urged the opening up of increased employment in such fields as architecture as a way to end the politically dangerous concentration of educated Indians in law and politics. But "in the hour of England's peril," he concluded, this class would "not help us much."¹⁵ Fearful and anxious, the supporters of an "Indic" Delhi sought, by grounding the Raj securely in India's past, to ensure for it a place in India's future.

In such an endeavor there was no hope of success. By 1912 the "Indo-Saracenic" enterprise had exhausted its purpose. As Britain's power over India waned, so too did the self-confident sense of "knowing" a fixed In-

dia that had sustained the work of the Indo-Saracenic builders. In the new nationalist India the old symbols that had defined the legitimacy of the Raj no longer commanded respect as they had in the past. Hence it was hardly surprising that the proponents of a "Saracenic" architecture, so out of touch with the reality of twentieth-century India, were denied the commission for the new capital city.

The Search for an "Oriental" Classicism

If Indo-Saracenic was regarded as inappropriate for the new city, so too, for most critics, was a wholly Western and classical form. Some influential voices, as we shall see later, among them Lord Curzon and Edwin Lutyens, spoke up, at least initially, for the use of an avowedly European architecture. As Lutyens wrote in May 1912, during his first trip to India, "I do want old England to stand up and plant her great traditions and good taste where she goes and not pander to sentiment and all this silly Moghul-Hindu stuff." Curzon too argued that a "non-Indian, a foreign, and a Western system" of government could not be "satisfied by Indian or Asiatic architectural forms." The viceroy, Lord Hardinge, however, was determined to avoid "building in the plains of Delhi a purely Western town." The architecture of the new capital, he insisted, "must be imbued with the spirit of the East such as will appeal to Orientals as well as to Europeans." The question was, he wrote Curzon, one not only of practical but of "political importance," for the Indians must not be made to feel that they were to have no say in the design of their new capital, but only to be asked to pay for it.¹⁶

Yet Hardinge had no clear idea as to how a European architecture should be "orientalised," or what this might mean for the various buildings to be put up in the new city. In February 1912 he described his preferred style as "Plain Classic" with a "touch of Orientalism." In August he spoke of "buildings of a bold and plain character with an Oriental adaptation," and in October of a "good broad classic style with an Indian motif."¹⁷ From the outset Hardinge was prepared to draw a distinction between the Government House, which as the residence of the viceroy he conceded could be constructed in "some form of Renaissance slightly orientalised as in Spain," while the secretariats, open to the coming and going of Indians, had to adopt a more "Indic" style. For this rea-

son he was willing, before Lutyens had completed his first tour in 1912, to award him the commission for Government House, while insisting at the same time upon a competition, open to Indian architects, for the secretariats. Even so, he urged Lutyens to incorporate into the design for Government House "a flat golden dome," which, he insisted, would go "admirably" with a Renaissance style. A year later, after a visit to Bikaner, Hardinge further suggested that, in designing the Durbar Hall of Government House, Lutyens follow "the general lines" of Bikaner's new "very large and really beautiful" Durbar Hall.¹⁸

As he cast about for suitable "Oriental" models, Hardinge inevitably turned first to the Indo-Saracenic designs of Swinton Jacob. The "Oriental architecture" of his buildings, he reported after visiting the new Canning College and Medical College at Lucknow, was "extraordinarily good"; and he found Jacob's work in Rajputana, especially that in Bikaner, equally attractive. Indian opinion too he found "extremely pleased" with Jacob's architecture.¹⁹ Yet it was hardly possible to combine these designs with any "plain" classic style. Nor were the buildings of Agra and Fatehpur Sikri, from which the British Indo-Saracenic builders had drawn inspiration and on which they wished to model the new capital, any better suited to the requirements of an "orientalised" classicism. Mughal building, in Hardinge's view, had "suffered from the admixture of the Hindu style, which is far too ornate." Instead, he looked further back in time—to the pre-Mughal dynasties of the Delhi sultanate and its successor states. This style, the so-called Pathan, "far purer" than the Mughal, he said, "with its rectangular or hexagonal columns, its breadth of treatment with big walls, buttresses, flat domes and few windows would lend itself to a composition with Italian architecture that would inspire beauty, solidity, and originality."²⁰

This preference for the "broad and simple" Pathan style involved more than aesthetic considerations. To abandon Fatehpur Sikri as an imperial model in favor of fifteenth-century Mandu, where Hardinge located the "best style of Indian building," carried with it political implications as well. Hardinge was by no means alone in disparaging the "ornate" character of "Hindu" architecture. But to seek to avoid its "taint" in New Delhi would undercut the conception, which the "mixed" Indo-Saracenic style had expressed, of the British presiding over and bringing together India's two communities, as they conceived that Akbar

had done. The "stern simplicity" of Mandu, with such comparable sites as Tughlaqabad, by contrast announced only Britain's mastery over the subcontinent.

Hardinge was determined, nevertheless, to make clear through the architecture of Delhi that Britain's Raj must now be conceived of as a joint Indian and British enterprise. "It must be remembered," he told Lutyens, "that it is not a British administration that is building the new city, as was the case when Calcutta was built, but a British Indian administration that is charged with the task." Hence the classical forms that clothed the old capital would be inappropriate in the new. Furthermore, every year "the Indian element in the administration" was growing in "influence and learning." Only a mixture of East and West—of Pathan and Palladian—could be "symbolical of the India of the twentieth century."²¹

Such sentiments brought Hardinge close to Herbert Baker, whose Pretoria Union Buildings reflected a similar conception of the role of architecture in empire. Baker, at work in South Africa, came to the attention of the Indian authorities only in October 1912, after Lutyens had already assumed a central role in the planning of the new capital. The occasion was a letter to the *Times*. In June, sensing that Lutyens's views on the appropriate architectural style for New Delhi did not coincide with those of the viceroy, the editor of the *Times*, Geoffrey Robinson, suggested to Baker that he "write something for us of a general character on the principles of architecture which should be applied to the building of the new Delhi."²² The letter, published on 3 October, precipitated a chorus of enthusiastic recommendations that Baker himself be given a part in the building of the capital. Captain George Swinton, head of the Delhi Town Planning Committee, told Hardinge that, although Baker was "not much more than a name to me until he wrote that letter to the *Times*," within a week, after examining a series of photographs of Baker's South African buildings, he had come to the conclusion that here was a man who "is a successful architect and speaks not only like a poet, but like a statesman." The governor-general of South Africa, Viscount Gladstone, at the same time wrote Crewe at the India Office urging Baker's appointment, with Lutyens, to the Delhi position. Baker's "genius," he said, "lies in adapting his buildings to the scenery," and, as the country round Delhi was similar to that in South Africa, Baker "would be in his element."²³ Within a month the India Office had come round to the idea

of a collaborative project. By January Baker was on his way to India to join Lutyens. According to the terms of their agreement Lutyens took responsibility for the overall layout of the city and the design of its centerpiece, the Viceroy's House, while Baker had charge of designing the two secretariat blocks which flanked the approach to the viceroy's residence.²⁴

Until his appointment to Delhi, Baker, who had never been to India, knew of Indo-Saracenic design only from his reading of Fergusson and other architectural historians. He nevertheless insisted, as he wrote in the letter to the *Times*, that, while this style may "express the charm and fascination of India," still "it has not the constructive and geometrical qualities necessary to embody the idea of law and order which has been produced out of chaos by the British Administration." No doubt, he admitted, a "beautiful" city would be created by tracing Mughal architecture back to its "origin" in the "purer forms of the Saracenic of Cairo and Damascus," but such a city would be no more Indian than British. We should instead, he argued, "fearlessly put the stamp of British sovereignty" on the "great work of which the Empire should be so proud." That meant inevitably the employment of "the eternal principles of ordered beauty" found in European classical architecture.²⁵

Like the viceroy, Baker was concerned above all with the political implications of the new capital's architecture. As he wrote Lutyens, Delhi "must not be Indian, nor English, nor Roman, but it must be Imperial." Hence it would be inappropriate simply to adopt unaltered an English classical, or any other, style. An imperial architecture, as he had learned in South Africa, could accomplish its objectives only by adapting its "elemental and universal forms" to the climate and cultural traditions of the colonial territory. At its heart lay adaptation to the "needs of a more southern climate." Here classical architecture had, in Baker's view, the great advantage that, as it had been developed in the warm and sunny Mediterranean, it was already well suited to tropical building. The classical colonnade, for instance, "if rarely needed in England," where it was found only as a "meaningless survival" in pilasters, was "always desirable in Southern Europe and our Southern Dominions, and is absolutely essential for protection from tropical sun and rain in the plains of India." Similarly, he continued, "every feature of classic architecture which has proved a stumbling block to the northern architect becomes a rational necessity when he works in brighter and hotter climates."²⁶

In South Africa, as we have seen, Baker sought to take into account the country's cultural heritage by incorporating elements of Cape Dutch

design into his work, and at the same time he consistently adopted features, such as overhanging eaves, that moderated the country's intense sunlight. For the most part, however, he found little need, in designing such structures as the Union Buildings, to alter the enduring classical forms. The symbolism of this architectural style, he realized, could appeal directly to its intended audience, for the South African Boer, despite the bitter hostilities of the war, shared with Baker and the English a European heritage. In India, as Baker perceived at the outset, the situation was altogether different and presented "much greater difficulties." The "wide divergence of race and climate which separate East and West in the British Empire," together with the powerful hold of "sentiment and tradition" over the Indian people, could well, he wrote in his letter to the *Times*, make "fusion" seem "as impossible in architecture as in race and national character." Nevertheless, he insisted, British rule in India was no "mere veneer of government and culture," but a "new civilization in growth, a blend of the best elements of East and West." The imperial architecture of Delhi, to be successful, had to express in stone the "same spirit" that animated those "who are building up the fabric of modern India."²⁷

Hence, upon his arrival Baker set out energetically "to learn all that I could of India." With Lord Hardinge's encouragement, often accompanied by Lutyens, he visited most of the ancient cities of northern and central India from Lahore south to Ahmedabad and east to Bodhgaya. He also read "books of Indian art." None of this study much altered Baker's view of the country's architectural heritage. Havell's *History*, for instance, with its praise of the "genius" of the Hindu, and its endeavor to show the Indian, and Hindu, character of even Mughal buildings, Baker regarded as marred by "special pleading, prejudice and ignorance of the basic truths of architecture." He preferred instead the work of Vincent Smith, which, though innovative in recognizing the existence of Indian fine art, continued the Victorian tradition of attributing all the "nobler features" of India's architecture to Western sources. In his letter to the *Times* Baker had insisted that the high domed portal arch, so prominent in Mughal architecture, had its "prototype" in the Roman baths, while the "pride of Indian architecture," the dome, could be "traced through Constantinople and the Byzantine Empire" and had, in any case, "its highest manifestation in St. Paul's." He later speculated that even the pierced-stone *jaali* screen might have been derived from the chancel screens and pierced masonry windows of Rome.²⁸ Such views of course at

once reflected a pride in the achievements of the West and helped to justify the use in his designs for Delhi of these architectural forms.

At the conclusion of his first Indian tour Baker summed up for Hardinge his view of how to create "a style which would be distinctly Indian." First, he said, we should build upon "the accumulated knowledge and experience of the Great Masters of the [European classical] past," which would "express the experience of the British administration." The "next essential" was the adaptation of the design to climate and local materials; these "in themselves force us to a large degree to the Southern and Indian." Then, finally, "we must try to graft on, to our organism thus adapted to the material conditions of India, all that we can accept of what is best in Indian sentiment and achievement in art, and which does not conflict with our ideals." In practice this meant following India's builders "in the greatness of their methods rather than in the superficialities and prettinesses of their style." The "picturesque confusion" of "balconies, oriels, turrets and domelets," which, he said, provided most of the "charm" of the structures illustrated in Havell's book, would be "very much out of place in a practical Secretariat building, nor in Government House would they be considered as attributes of awe and majesty." The "lessons" India's architecture taught were to be found, not in the "shape" of the arches and vaults, but in their "thickness," together with such other structural features as the mass of the walls and domes, the depth of open halls, and the raised platforms on which buildings stood.²⁹

Apart from the recessed Mughal portal entryway, three "characteristically Indian" features appealed to Baker as "appropriate" for incorporation in the buildings of the new imperial capital. These were the *chajja*, or wide-projecting cornice; the *jaali*, or pierced-stone lattice screen; and the *chattri*, or free-standing canopied turret. The compelling attraction of both *chajja* and *jaali* was, however, for Baker, not so much their Indian form as their suitability for use in the Indian climate. The projecting cornice, which, as he later wrote, both he and Lutyens made a distinctive feature of "all our Delhi buildings," served not only to "protect the walls and windows from the high sun, but also from any but driving rain, and thus allow the open window." Similarly, the intricately carved *jaali* screen had the advantage of admitting the air but not the light of the high sun. The *chattri* alone he adopted for wholly aesthetic reasons: that of breaking the long, horizontal skylines of the flat-roofed secretariats.³⁰

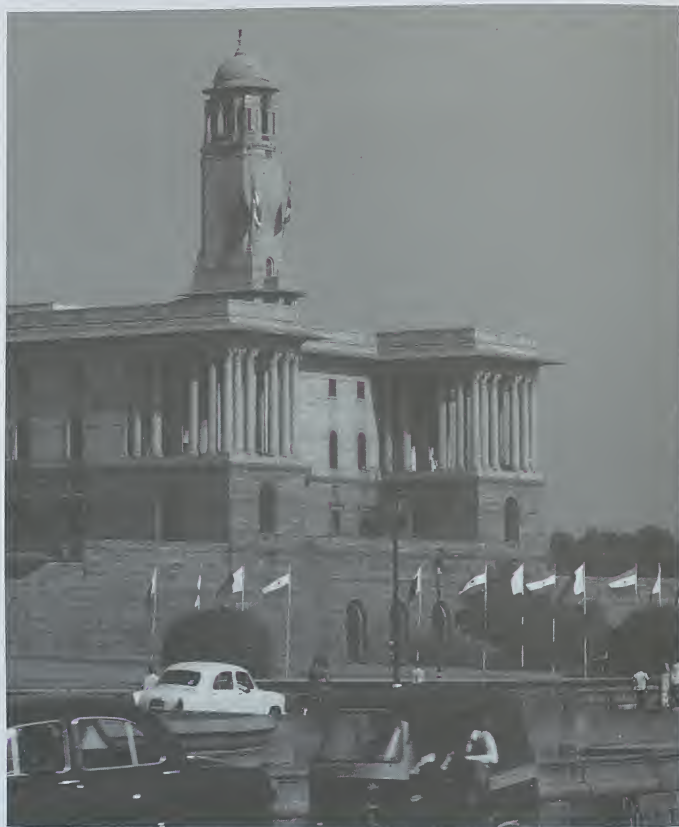
Hardinge remained unconvinced that a city designed along such lines would be, as Baker argued, "distinctly Indian." Indeed, Baker's admis-

sion that "we have already accepted the column and lintel; and this in itself must carry us away from the more definite Indian styles" only reinforced his doubts. To make certain, therefore, that the new city had a visibly "Indic" appearance, Hardinge insisted upon the "association" of Swinton Jacob with the Lutyens-Baker team appointed in January 1913. Jacob's role, he said, was to be that of architectural adviser to ensure that there "should be no doubt as to the introduction of Indian tradition in the new buildings."³¹ At the same time Hardinge himself pressed Baker and Lutyens to adopt, along with the *chattri*, *jaali*, and *chajja*, the four-centered pointed Mughal arch. For him the use of the pointed arch, more than any other architectural device, would testify to the "Oriental" character of the new city. "In the East," he wrote Lutyens, "the pointed arch is a symbol, and has a meaning which all Indians understand, while a round arch means nothing at all." To be sure, he acknowledged, the round arch, which Lutyens and Baker both favored, found a prominent place in the government buildings in Pretoria, where it was "not at all out of place." But, he insisted, "Pretoria is not Delhi." To "fight against tradition and the symbolism of centuries" would lead only to failure, whereas "to adopt them and blend them with English (not Italian) traditions means success." "In your London surroundings," he challenged Lutyens, "you cannot feel the whisperings of the East, but I have lived fifteen years in the East, and I know and feel the language of Eastern buildings."³²

Lutyens retorted that there "can be nothing un-Indian in so simple a form as the round arch," while Baker on his side insisted, as he wrote later, that use of the Mughal arch would produce "ugly shapes and misfits" incompatible with the simplicities of classical design that underlay the whole scheme. Confronted by this adamant opposition, Hardinge in the end let the two architects have their way. Reflecting on the controversy, he told Constance Villiers-Stuart in May 1914 that "in dealing with English architects, there is much prejudice in style to overcome. I have had my way in some things but not in all. But then I am not an Architect."³³

Despite their differences, Baker and Hardinge alike conceived of architecture in explicitly political terms, and both saw in the "blended" style of an "orientalised" classicism a foreshadowing of the "happy marriage" between the ideals of East and West that they expected to mark out the British Indian Empire in the twentieth century. Unlike the Indo-Saracenic designers, who sought to cope with the upheavals of the new century by tying the Raj ever more tightly to a "traditional" India, Har-

dinge and Baker disparaged the effort to define Britain's Raj solely in Indian terms. The new city, as Baker so memorably put it, had to "embody the idea of law and order which has been produced out of chaos by the British Administration." Some of the most prominent classical features in Baker's secretariat design, above all the columned porticoes opening



48. Secretariat, New Delhi. North Block from the Great Place below. Note the

similarity of the columned porticoes to those in Pretoria. Photograph by author.

from the top ministerial offices far above the plain, were meant, like their counterparts in Pretoria, to reinforce this sense of empire (fig. 48); for from these porches ministers could look out "over the far ruinous sites of the historic cities of the Hindu and Mahomedan dynasties to the new Capital beneath them" that united "for the first time through the centuries all races and religions of India."³⁴ Yet Baker, like Hardinge, realized that mere assertion was not sufficient to accommodate a political order in which Indians increasingly shared power with their British rulers. At the same time, however, for both men, their conception of "India" remained shaped by the Orientalist constructions of the nineteenth century. Like the Indo-Saracenic builders, they believed that Indians, as "Orientals," were fundamentally different from Europeans, and that in consequence there existed a "language of Eastern building" which it was possible to "know and feel." But neither Baker nor Hardinge was willing—or able—to speak through that constructed "language."

As a result, uncertain how best to proceed, they sought refuge in the notion of an architecture that "grafted" some of the "simpler" elements of "Eastern" design, drawn from such early sites as Mandu, onto a Western form. In so doing they conceived that they were returning to a "purer" Saracenic style. No doubt too, such a style could more easily be combined with Western classical forms. But at the same time it announced a retreat from the self-confidence of the Indo-Saracenic builders. Where Swinton Jacob had confidently asserted his mastery of India's architectural traditions, Baker sought no more than a "graft" of that which could be readily comprehended and would help moderate India's fierce climate. Indeed, the notion of "grafting" itself betrayed the superficial nature of Baker's commitment to Indic forms. In 1926 he described the principle that had shaped his designs as being "to weave into the fabric of the more elemental and universal forms of architecture the thread of such Indian traditional shapes and features as may be compatible with the nature and use of the buildings."³⁵ Yet in practice neither the design nor Baker's conception of it involved much "weaving." Instead, the elements that made up the design were separately identified as "Indian" and as classical or "elemental" and then set side by side. Nor was this simply a matter of Baker's inexpertise in design. To the contrary, each set of elements, to accomplish its political objectives, had to be clearly visible as such: the columns, porticoes, and domes of the secretariats to announce Britain's sovereignty; the *chattris*, *jaalis*, and *chajjas* to proclaim that the Raj was now Indian as well as British. (See plate 17.)

Yet an "orientalised" classicism evaded as many problems as it solved. Above all, no more than Havell did Baker and Hardinge confront the question of incorporating the English-educated Indian into their representational system. Too astute to grasp at a waning "traditional" India, they were still too caught up in the assumptions of the past to seek for a way to achieve what Baker had so successfully accomplished in South Africa as he brought Smuts and Botha to share his vision of the Union Buildings. If the Indo-Saracenic plan for New Delhi sought a world that was past, Baker's embodied an idealized vision of empire hardly less out of touch with twentieth-century India.

Lutyens, Saracenic Design and the Viceroy's Palace

From his arrival on the subcontinent in March 1912 as a member of the Delhi Town Planning Commission, Edwin Lutyens wasted no time in appreciation of India's historic architecture. Personally, he wrote to his wife, with an arrogant gesture of disdain, "I do not believe there is *any* real Indian architecture or any great tradition. There are just spurts by various mushroom dynasties with as much intellect as there is in any other *art nouveau*." All Indian buildings, even the Taj Mahal, though sometimes picturesque and decorative, were pervaded by a "childish ignorance" of the basic principles of architecture. In a letter to Baker, still in South Africa, he described, facetiously, how one would erect buildings in the two chief Indian styles. If a "Hindu" structure were required, he wrote, "set square stones and build childwise, but, before you erect, carve every stone differently and independently, with lace patterns and terrifying shape. On top, over trabeated pendentives, set—an onion." If the choice were "Moghul," he continued, build "a vasty mass of rough concrete, elephant-wise, on a very simple rectangular-cum-octagon plan, dome in anyhow, cutting off square. Overlay with a veneer of stone patterns, like laying a vertical tile floor, and get Italians to help you. . . . Then on top of the mass put three turnips in concrete and overlay with stone or marble as before. Be very careful not to bond anything in, and don't care a damn if it does all come to pieces."³⁶

At Hardinge's request, on his second Indian tour in December 1912, Lutyens visited the viceroy's favorite "Saracenic" city, the remote Mandu. Though he found Mandu "set in wonderful scenery and on a wonderful

site," architecturally it had no more to recommend it than any other Indian design. "Behind it all," he wrote, "the building is childish, and of that quality of art so dear to the literary mind—work done in a hurry by old war-worn conquerors, ruthless and squalid, with no real nicety as the great Westerners felt it." As a whole the structures possessed "a wonderful made picturesqueness" but no "intellect," and the plans were "quite impracticable, except as entertainment rooms for those who wear no clothes, want no furniture, and have no real reason for building except pomp and ceremony, as in, for instance, giant stairways leading to balconies where one man can squat and another precariously stand to wave a flag-fan of peacock plumes."³⁷

Lutyens's appraisal of British Indo-Saracenic was no more favorable. He disparaged the "towers and domes" of Madras as the Raj's own "particular form of vulgarity"; Swinton Jacob, though "personally a dear old gentleman," in his view, had "no architectural ability at all." Jacob's buildings, Lutyens told Baker, not altogether inaccurately, are "all made up of tit bits culled from various buildings of various dates put together with no sense of relation or of scale." The "shoddy" Albert Hall at Jaipur, where he stopped on his very first visit to "pay his respects" to Jacob, was, like such other structures as the "very elaborate and cheap" Daly College, Indore, "absolutely in want of all that Haldane has described as clear thinking."³⁸ In the end, when Hardinge insisted, Lutyens was prepared to accept Jacob's help "as a walking dictionary on Indian detail," for he knew that otherwise he might himself be denied the Delhi commission. But from the beginning he intrigued to get Jacob "shoved," and he exulted in "the dear thing's" resignation in August 1913, six months after Jacob, Baker, and himself had been jointly named as architects of New Delhi.³⁹

Throughout the controversy over style Lutyens remained unshakably committed to the beaux-arts classicism that, since his conversion in 1903, he had adopted as his own (fig. 49). For Lutyens this classicism, measured by its own standards of aesthetic perfection, allowed of no tampering in order to secure some political effect. "Would Wren," he wrote, "(had he gone to Australia) have burnt his knowledge and experience to produce a marsupial style—thought to reflect the character of her aborigines?" As he told Baker, in the opening round of the argument that was later to destroy their friendship, "You cannot play originality with the [classical] Orders. They have to be so digested that there is nothing



49. Sketch by Edwin Lutyens of an Indo-Saracenic palace. Lutyens's deprecatory dismissal of any attempt to build an Indo-Saracenic New Delhi is evident in this sketch,

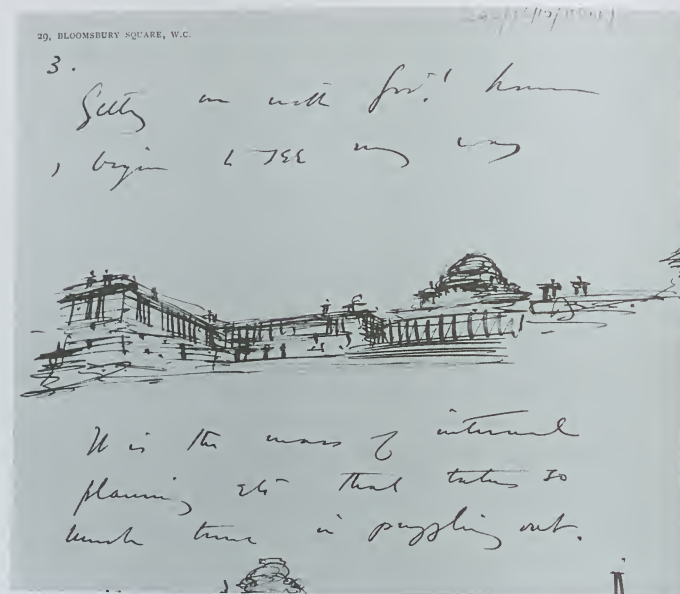
which shows an exuberantly Oriental viceroy's palace, described as "Moghul tush," paired with the royal family dressed in Eastern garb. Letter to his wife, 6 September 1912,

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but essence left. When right they are curiously lovely—unalterable as plant forms. . . . The perfection of the Order is far nearer nature than anything produced on impulse or accident-wise."⁴⁰

None of this meant, however, that the British ought to reproduce in India "the almost sterile stability of the English classical style." Classical architecture, as it had evolved over the centuries, had grown to accommodate the character of the societies in which it had taken root. From its beginnings among those "intellectual giants" the Greeks, the "torch" of classicism, as Lutyens had written in 1903, had been passed first to the Romans, then to the Italians of the Renaissance, and finally to Wren, who "made it sane for England." Lutyens saw his task as being to "hand on that torch and make it sane for India, and Indian in its character." Yet this could not be done, he argued, as men like Hardinge conceived, "by capturing Indian details and inserting their features, like hanging pictures on a wall." An "orientalised" classicism was not the answer. If only, he wrote despairingly of Hardinge and of Sir George Clarke, then at work on the Gateway of India in Bombay, instead of trying to create "a mixture to please all parties," they would "build well and consider the climate and conditions—and realise that these are the paramount objects to aim for and not treat poor architecture as a mere wall paper it would be easier."⁴¹

Lutyens appreciated at the outset that to design New Delhi as he sought would be "no easy task." But the way at least was clear (fig. 50). One began, not, like Hardinge, with ornament, but rather with a clearly defined "constructional purpose." The system adopted was then "carried throughout the whole fabric, according to the logical demands of the material used." Such a conception of architecture brought Lutyens into conflict not only with the viceroy but with his colleague, Herbert Baker. Even where the two were in agreement, as in opposing Hardinge's preference for the pointed arch, the arguments each used betrayed their differing perspectives. As Lutyens wrote, "One cannot tinker with the round arch. God did not make the Eastern rainbow pointed to show His wide sympathies. Point your arch ever so little, it ceases to be round and its quality goes." Baker at once replied, "You must recognize the political standpoint in a political capital. . . . And you get your way best by doing so, and showing that there are more vital things than the mere accidental shape of an arch. Ungeometrical arches and vaults in conjunction do not



50. Lutyens's first sketches of the Viceroy's House in letter to his wife of 16 September 1912. Above the first sketch he

writes, "I am getting on with Govt. House and begin to see my way." Below he dismisses chattris as "stupid useless things." Reproduced by

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express a scientific logical government which the Government of India is or should be. That is the line of attack I think. Give them Indian sentiment where it does not conflict with grand principles, as the Government should do."⁴²

Three years later, in 1916, with construction under way, the two architects' disagreements blossomed forth for all the world to see in the famous "gradient" controversy. The conflict had its origins in the decision, taken in March 1913 at Baker's initiative, to place the secretariat buildings, as well as the Viceroy's House, atop Raisina Hill. Baker's objectives were, as usual, political in nature. He conceived that the viceroy ought not, as though he were a despot, to live "aloof and aloft from his

ministers of government." Instead, in order to "give architectural expression to a common dignity and distinction in the instrument of government as a united whole," the secretariats should sit upon the same elevated platform as the viceroy's residence. Similar motives had led him, as we have seen, to create an "acropolis" capital at Pretoria, where the Union Buildings on Meintjes Kop, raised high above the people below, gave "dignity and beauty to the instrument of government."⁴³

Lutyens had from the outset intended the viceregal mansion, as the axial point of his overall scheme for the layout of New Delhi, not only to be raised upon Raisina Hill, but to be visible along the entire length of the ceremonial King's Way that reached eastward toward Indraprastha. Placed far back, however, behind the secretariats at the crest of the hill, the Viceroy's House would be partially hidden from view as one approached the hill and ascended steeply up its slope. For Baker this was a matter of no great moment. Lutyens, by contrast, once he had discovered its consequences, fought unrelentingly to have the vista restored by the excavation of a deep trench into the hillside past the secretariats, so that the road could ascend at a lesser gradient and the Viceroy's House remain visible at its end. When he was refused he broke angrily with Baker, whom he accused of having deceived him in drawing up the plans for the siting of the secretariats.

This obstinate struggle, against nearly hopeless odds, was not just a mark of Lutyens's personal vanity. It testified rather to his enduring rejection of an architecture based upon what he saw as "sentiment." Whether it took the shape of a search for an "orientalised" classicism or the hill-top siting of the secretariats, Baker's insistence that "content in art" was "of the greatest importance" and ought to be expressed in architecture, evoked but little sympathy from his collaborator at Delhi. "I really do believe," he wrote disparagingly of Baker in 1920, "his work all centers round and is built on phrases that will sound well with his Round Table friends!!" What Baker needed, Lutyens growled, was "a little more of the T square, and a little less of the Round Table."⁴⁴ At Delhi use of the "T square" meant for Lutyens, above all else, that the Viceroy's House, as the axial point of an ordered symmetry, must remain always visible.

Lutyens's beaux-arts classicism did not of course exclude an appreciation of empire. Indeed, to the contrary, the beaux-arts tradition itself had, from its earliest days, defined the European representation of empire. The balance and symmetry of an ordered design, in this conception,

announced a world ruled justly by a disinterested elite, while an ordered rule, imposed from above, complemented, and to a large degree alone made possible such a design. Hence Lutyens was, not surprisingly, as he wrote his wife, "awfully impressed" with the Indian Civil Service and the "unselfishness" of the government. Indeed, like so many late-Victorian intellectuals, appalled by Gladstonian "sentimentality," Lutyens found the authoritarianism of empire more attractive than a democratic England, where "the rot of party and votes seems like some slow sweet poison to spoilt children." Before he had been in India a month, in April 1912, he wrote that "India, like Africa, makes one very Tory and preTory Feudal!"⁴⁵

Yet, unlike Baker, whose architecture always had as its sole purpose the service of the Empire, Lutyens sought in Delhi not simply to create an architecture of empire, but to develop for India "some new sense of architectural construction adapted to her crafts" and so initiate "what may become a new and inspiring period in the history of her art." Inevitably, as the ideals of imperialism informed so much of his vision, the representation of the Raj lay at the heart of this enterprise; but Lutyens's architecture, as he set out "to express modern India in stone," was intended nevertheless to transcend such limitations. It was not, in his view, to be "mere wall paper."⁴⁶

His conception of New Delhi brought Lutyens into conflict not only with those who sought an "orientalised" classicism, but with those, like Havell, who saw in the design of the new capital an opportunity for India's artisans to display their traditional crafts. Initially, to meet the concerns of those artists and scholars in England who had signed the February 1913 petition, and their supporters in the Indian art schools, most prominent among them Percy Brown, Havell's successor at Calcutta, the Indian government had proposed the organization of a studio, run by Indian master craftsmen, to take responsibility for ornamenting the new buildings. At no time, however, did even Hardinge have much enthusiasm for this scheme. When Swinton Jacob resigned in August 1913, he made no effort either to appoint a successor from Britain or to place an Indian in charge of decorative work; and he spoke of the proposed Studio of Indian Arts, already downgraded to a technical workshop, as mere "eyewash," designed to placate public opinion. For himself, Lutyens had never possessed much sympathy for the Indian craftsman, or *mistri*, whom he mockingly labeled the "mystery man." Baker alone had cherished the idea of seeing the surfaces of his buildings enriched by Indian

"symbolism, heraldry, history, and philosophy so far as these can be embodied in art." Hence, when the art studio fell victim to the wartime drive for economy, few mourned its demise. By 1914 the arts and crafts movement in India had run its course.⁴⁷

As he set out to embody his vision in stone Lutyens had of necessity to come to terms with "Oriental" architecture. He could not, if he were to incorporate its elements in his design, dismiss it out of hand, as he had done with such vehemence during his early days in India. He first found inspiration for this enterprise, no doubt because of its greater familiarity, in the architecture of Spain. The buildings there, he told Hardinge in September 1912, were "Italian with a wonderful elusive flavour of the Moor," and so pointed the way "as to how to create a competent style without merely borrowing unassimilated forms." Others too had seen in this architecture a useful model for the building of New Delhi. The *Builder*, hostile to Havell's Indic enthusiasms, suggested following the example of the colonial Spanish in Mexico and Central America, where a Renaissance motif was combined with detail work supplied by indigenous craftsmen. Lord Curzon, writing to the *Times* in October 1912, although admitting that the obvious first choice was the "colonial adaptation of the Palladian style" that had shaped Government House, Calcutta, and his own Victoria Memorial, then under construction in Calcutta, acknowledged nevertheless that this style, in its "severe and sometimes inartistic simplicity," would be inappropriate for the new capital, which deserved a "richer and more imaginative variant of the classical conception." Best of all, he said, "because it was largely affected by Oriental ideas, was the Renaissance architecture of Spain, some of the most exquisite features of which are a visible legacy from the Moors."⁴⁸

Lutyens had no intention, however, of transplanting Spanish architecture to India. Its distinctive character, he wrote, "now belongs to Spain alone." Spanish architecture was important because it showed him the way to meld—not to "graft"—"the flavour of the Moor" into the fabric of Western classicism. His objective was to follow the "logic" that had led to Spanish architecture, not to copy its results. For him this "logic" involved, as we have seen in the letters he wrote Baker at the beginning of their collaboration, a process of "digesting" the classical forms so that only their "essence" remained, and then reconstituting them so that they comprehended within themselves indigenous ornament and detail. In so doing, as he turned to his work in Delhi, Lutyens was led inevitably to look more favorably on India's historic architecture. As Hardinge wrote,

with relief, in January 1913, "Since Lutyens' return to India," for his second tour, "I have found him much more adaptable . . . quite ready to adopt Indian architectural styles."⁴⁹

By nearly universal agreement the Viceroy's House, as finally constructed, successfully realized Lutyens's central objective: that of assimilating Indic forms, rigorously controlled and subordinated, within a European classical idiom to create an architecture expressive of the ideals of the British Empire (fig. 51). The massive dome and gigantic colonnades, their authority derived from the traditions of European classicism, marked out clearly Britain's sovereignty over the Indian subcontinent. The Indic features of the structure were equally visible and yet transformed. Most prominent was a *chajja*, jutting forth eight feet from the wall face, that encircled the entire building. Its sunlit edge, with the deep band of shadow beneath, linked the building's fronts and reinforced the overall pattern of horizontality defined by its long low lines. *Chattris*, despite Lutyens's early dismissal of them as "stupid useless things," march along the roof line and cluster around the base of the dome. Unlike Baker's on the nearby secretariats, however, Lutyens's *chattris* are not drawn from any existing model, but represent his reinterpretation of the basic form. The banded red sandstone of which the building was constructed further emphasized the horizontal lines of the *chajja* and recalled as well the stone plinths of neighboring Muslim tombs. Further Indic elements were almost playfully introduced, among them a cobra fountain and a colonnade of trabeated arches in the kitchen entrance.⁵⁰

Yet, despite this stunning design, Lutyens was no more able than Baker or Havell to create an architecture that could resolve the fundamental problems confronting the British Empire in the twentieth century. Of these the most obvious was the slow, but inevitable, loss of British control over India. Indeed, the increasing ineffectuality of the Raj was visible for all to see in Delhi itself when a bomb, thrown by a revolutionary nationalist, severely wounded Lord Hardinge during his December 1912 state entry into the new capital. Like so much Edwardian building elsewhere, the product of an anxious Britain determined to assert itself against newly powerful rivals, the monumental classicism of the Viceroy's House, with its huge dome and seemingly endless ranks of columns, can be seen as a device to mask a growing insecurity by shouting forth an assertive magnificence. Sheer size, so this mammoth palace seemed to say, could help obscure, if not deny altogether, the waning of Britain's authority over its premier dependency.



51. Viceroy's House, New Delhi. Note the use of Indic forms, including the overhanging *chajja*, the clustered *chattris*, and railing

derived from Sanchi around the base of the dome. Photograph courtesy of the British Architectural Library, RIBA, London.

Lutyens's use of Indic features too, while innovative, reflected the loss of imperial self-confidence. Men like Swinton Jacob had conceived of the British as latter-day Mughal emperors ruling over Hindu and Muslim communities whose distinctive architectural styles they could shape to the needs of their own Raj. Lutyens, unsympathetic to this "silly Moghul-Hindu stuff," sought instead to sidestep the issue. Many of his Indic designs, such as the *chattris* of the Viceroy's House, were created of abstract forms not directly related to India's past; for others he sought inspiration in ancient Buddhist building. The dome itself, though unique in its black color, takes its shape not, like Baker's at the secretariat, from Wren's work in England, but from the great stupa at Sanchi, begun in the third century B.C. The drum of the dome too was girt with a railing reminiscent of the one surrounding the stupa, while for the Great Place at the foot of Raisina Hill Lutyens designed a railing modeled closely on that at Sanchi.

As we have seen, the British had always regarded the great Buddhist monuments, in large part because of their antiquity, as the high point of India's historic architecture. Yet their forms had been but rarely incorporated in British building. Buddhism had, after all, no adherents in Victorian India; and so its architecture, unlike the use of "Hindu" and "Muslim" forms, would not proclaim the mastery of the Raj over the peoples of the subcontinent. For Lutyens, however, the Buddhist stupas, as an aesthetically satisfying Indian "classical" architecture, provided a way of evading the communal tangle of Hindu and Muslim: a tangle that the British, for all their imperial pretension, could not resolve, and indeed had exacerbated. Rather like Hardinge's preference for the "simple" style of Mandu, Lutyens's use of Buddhist forms acknowledged that Britain, if not yet ready to abandon altogether its authority over the subcontinent, had nevertheless abdicated its claim to a superior knowledge of India's peoples and its past.

Lutyens's architecture had furthermore, like that of Havell and Baker, no place for the English-educated Indian. Though he rejected the "constructed" language of the Indo-Saracenic tradition, he created no alternative. As a result, perhaps, Lutyens despaired of the future of India. As he wrote to his wife in December 1912, "I suppose we shall give up India, leave our people in the lurch, as they have done in South Africa. . . . Government will get into the hands of talkers and they [the Indians] will be governed by phrases, as we are, and no one will be a whit the better and a

good many a good deal worse." Nor did such despondency encourage him to take educated Indians into his confidence. When shown the plans of Ajmal Khan's proposed college of Islamic medicine, by its "Mohammedan architect," Ashiq Hussain, he retorted only that "it is all humbug this Indian architect playing to be Indian and adopting with glee all that is bad in Western methods of design."⁵¹

In the early days of their collaboration Baker flattered Lutyens that he might become a great architect of empire. "In 2000 years," he wrote him, when the Delhi appointment was announced, "there must be an Imperial Lutyens tradition in Indian architecture, as there now clings a memory of Alexander."⁵² Lutyens readily joined with Baker in the cry of "Hurrah for despotism!" and his viceregal palace, together with his beaux-arts layout for New Delhi, embodied on a grand scale an ideal of empire. Yet Lutyens's triumph was uniquely personal. Although his individual genius enabled him to transcend the stylistic limitations of an "orientalised" classicism, the Viceroy's House did not point the way toward a new architecture that might define a new relationship between India and Britain. Confined within the classic traditions of European imperialism, it led, inevitably, nowhere.

Conclusion

In the great monuments of New Delhi, as in the most obscure Indo-Saracenic post office, the architecture of the Raj visibly represented in stone the choices the British made in politics as imperial rulers. In New Delhi the vision that informed its building—that of reestablishing the Raj on a new footing for the twentieth century—failed because, in architecture as in politics, it neglected to take into account the English-educated Indians, who as a “modern” elite saw themselves as the natural successors to the Raj. By the twentieth century this new elite could no longer be ignored. To be sure, in the design of the Victoria Memorial, Curzon had sought to define Britain’s Raj as a “modern” state, and so to appeal to the English-educated. Like the English themselves, they were meant to take pride in the accomplishments of some 150 years of British rule. Curzon further fought against the transfer of the capital to Delhi, a “mass of deserted ruins and graves,” a city of “dead dynasties,” in contrast to Calcutta, which represented the living spirit of modern, and of British, India.¹ But Curzon never dealt with even moderate nationalists, like G. K. Gokhale, as the “kindergarten” in South Africa had done with Smuts and Botha; and no one contemplated handing over power to the Indian National Congress. Even in 1917, when Edwin Montagu declared that self-government would be the inevitable end of British rule, that eventuality was pushed off into a comfortably distant period.

Most striking perhaps, as a mark of the grudging inclusion of India’s elites, was the contrast between the layout of New Delhi and that of Australia’s contemporaneous planned capital of Canberra. Both cities incorporated the ideals of beaux-arts planning, together with those of the garden-city movement. Yet, despite their common character as capital

cities, they shared little else. In Australia the new capital, though designed by an American, Walter Burley Griffin, was the project of Australians, and it was established to mark the coming into existence of a newly united, and independent, Commonwealth. The Australian government was perennially reluctant to expend the funds necessary to build it; the Parliament House, for instance, has only recently been brought under construction. Nevertheless, the new capital city made manifest a widely shared vision of Australian nationality that complemented an emerging sense of equality, through participation in the British Commonwealth, with the former imperial master.

In New Delhi not only was the design imposed from above, with no Indians consulted about the project, but further, in striking contrast to Canberra, no provision at all was made in the original plan for a legislative building. The current structure, though designed by Baker, was an afterthought, made necessary to accommodate the enlarged legislature required by the 1919 reforms. Off to the side on a triangular plot, it did not form, like Canberra’s Parliament House, an axial point of the urban scheme. New Delhi’s urban order instead placed Britain’s viceroy, in his vast palace on Raisina Hill, at the city’s heart. The imposing facades of India’s new capital did not announce therefore, as did those of Canberra, the transformation of empire into a larger, shared system that included the Indian people, along with the Australian, as equal participants.

New Delhi’s failure to reach out to India’s elite was not accidental. It testified rather to the continuing power of an earlier vision of empire: one that saw India as a timeless “traditional” society, of different castes and faiths, whom Britain alone could reconcile and so of necessity must rule. This vision took visible form in an architecture that sought to incorporate India’s princes, peasantry, and artisans, but excluded its educated elite. So compelling was this construction of India and its past, one might argue, that even when the British spoke of eventual self-rule, and Indo-Saracenic architecture had been abandoned, its fundamental conceptions remained to shape their building in the twentieth century. Neither Baker nor Lutyens, as they built New Delhi, could escape the influence of these ideas.

The enduring strength of the Indo-Saracenic vision was intimately tied to its origins in the wake of the 1857 uprising. In those years the British were determined to know, and so to master, their Indian dependency; and hence they set on foot that search for knowledge of India and its peoples that informed so much of the later-nineteenth-century impe-

rial enterprise and underlay such works as Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* and Jacob's *Portfolio of Indian Architectural Details*. During these years of reconstruction as well, the British first began to formulate an ideology that self-consciously represented Britain as an imperial state. This ideology first took visible shape in the proclamation of Victoria as Empress of India, where it was joined with the assertion that the British were not mere foreign conquerors, but legitimate, almost indigenous rulers, linked directly to the Mughals and hence to India's own past. The activity of British architects in India, from Chisholm's building in Madras through Mant's in western India to Jacob's in the north, for half a century reflected, as it shaped, this new ideology of empire. In the India of the 1870s, indeed, one finds prefigured the "new imperialism" that by the end of the century was to propel Britain into jingoism and the scramble for Africa.

The vision that sustained the Indo-Saracenic enterprise was not, of course, wholly a product of the political requirements of the British Raj in the uncertain post-Mutiny decades. A variety of currents—intellectual, scientific, aesthetic—in Victorian society played a role as well. The crafts enthusiasts, for instance, cared little for India, or for empire, but their historicist desire to re-create in England a preindustrial arcadia drew them inevitably to the "timeless" India of the late-Victorian vision. An organic society of peasants and artisans, tied to Britain by a shared Aryan origin, India, in this view, represented Britain's past to itself, and so the interests of those within British society dissatisfied with their own industrial order went hand in hand with the concept of a "traditionalist" empire in India. Apart from the particular interests of the crafts movement, the larger Tory revival of late-Victorian England, from Disraeli's time onward, as it sought to supplant laissez-faire individualism with a new focus of loyalty in Crown and State, helped as well to push forward the notion of a "tradition-bound" India. Together the "invented tradition" of the late-Victorian monarchy and that of the Indo-Saracenic builder sustained each other.²

Science too helped convince the Victorians of the truth of the "traditionalist" construction of India's past. The Aryan theory of race generated a sense of kinship between Britain and India, yet at the same time "scientifically" explained, by the racial mixing of the superior Aryan with the indigenous Turanian, the persisting backwardness and stagnation of Indian society evident in its architecture as in all else. More gener-

ally, the Victorians, as children of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, sought rational principles that would provide a comprehensive, and-comprehensible, way of ordering everything they saw in the world around them. Architecture was not excluded. Fergusson, for instance, set himself the task of evaluating, not just India's, but all the world's buildings by the application of universal "scientific" categories. The Taj was measured against the Parthenon as part of a ranking system meant to measure, label, and order every building with scientific accuracy. South India's temples were placed at the bottom of the scale, not simply because they housed the deities of a "superstitious" faith, but because they violated universal rules of aesthetics that placed a building's highest point at its center. The problem with India's architecture, as the *Builder* wrote, was that it was an "architecture of nightmare, without form, proportion, or logic." Yet, as the forms of this architecture could alone secure for Britain a past in India, intellectual devaluation went hand in hand with the incorporation of these forms into British building. What the *Builder* disparaged, men like Fergusson and Jacob saw as expressive of India's enduring nature, and so of use for Britain's empire.³

India's Indo-Saracenic builders participated as well, along with their counterparts at home, in a general movement of eclecticism in design. The search for the picturesque, with the indiscriminate mixing of elements from a variety of sources, shaped Victorian building everywhere. The Mughal-styled Egmore Railway Station in Madras was no more incongruous than the Gothic-styled St. Pancras Station in London. Works such as Owen Jones's pattern book, *The Grammar of Ornament*, too made available to the British builder designs from around the world which he could incorporate in his work as he sought fresh sources of inspiration.

At no time, however, did the Victorians' apparently disinterested search for "scientific" knowledge, or their aesthetic eclecticism, exist in India apart from the power relationships of colonialism. This was true not only in such obvious ways as the definition and ranking of "races," or the assertions of social Darwinism, but in aesthetics as well. Most telling perhaps is the fact that Indian styles rarely found their way into Victorian buildings in Britain. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when the "Saracenic" and the "Gothic" were alike exotic, and indeed occasionally confused, they could be used together to secure a suitably "picturesque" effect. By Victorian times, however, as the British created a

history for themselves by making of Gothic a “national” style, which alone properly represented their past, so too did they use the Indo-Saracenic, by a similar historicist device, to create a past for India, which was thus made available for appropriation by the Raj. Its use in Britain was, at the same time, no longer appropriate. There, as George Birdwood put it, Indian styles, “however fine in themselves,” would only “further adulterate” England’s architectural heritage.⁴ Indeed, only one major Indian-styled building was ever proposed for central London. Asked by the East India Association to design a museum that could at once house the Indian collections at South Kensington and serve as a memorial to Edward VII, the retired R. F. Chisholm in 1910 created a structure, to be



52. Design by R. F. Chisholm for an Indian museum on the South Bank of the Thames in London. The building to the

right is the London County Council. From *The Builder*, 30 July 1910.

set on the South Bank of the Thames, that interwove “Hindoo and Mahomedan” forms in the fashion of buildings he had designed in India going back nearly half a century (fig. 52). But the cost was prohibitive and the opposition intense. In Britain, as in India, the apparent eclecticism of the Victorian architect was shaped by a political context that confined certain styles to certain defined purposes.⁵

So far as Indian styles found any home at all in Britain, it was in structures devoted to amusement and diversion. From the 1890s onward, pavilions at major international exhibitions, especially those showing the wares of the “Orient” or used for cafes and restaurants, were constructed in “exotic” Indian styles. So too were theaters and, with the rise of the movie industry, cinema houses. From Belfast and Glasgow to Denver and Oakland, theater designers sought to enhance the illusion especially of the cinema as an experience of magic and mystery by housing its performances in structures removed as far as possible from all conventional architectural styles.⁶ For the home-bound Englishman, Indo-Saracenic design conjured up a mythic world of romance and fantasy, one seemingly far distant from the stern exercise of colonial mastery. Nevertheless, although the objectives of the movie mogul were not those of the viceroy who sat upon the throne of the Mughal, the “Orient” of the cinema remained as much a “constructed” Orient, meant to serve English needs, as that of the Indo-Saracenic post office in India.

Indians could only with great difficulty accept this architecture as representing their own past. This was especially the case for the English-educated, who, by the end of the nineteenth century, were growing in strength and numbers. As much a creation of British rule as the notion of India as a “traditional” land, they embodied the ideal, cherished by the British since Macaulay’s time, of remaking India into a modern and progressive society. This “modernizing” vision took shape in architecture, not only with such structures as Curzon’s Victoria Memorial, but, more generally, in the erection of schools, post offices, and law courts. Even in the Mayo College the architectural elements of the past defined a space within which a new learning took place. By its very nature Indo-Saracenic was an architecture of facades, whose forms disguised the irreversible transformation British rule had set in motion.

The dilemma this contradiction posed—for the British and for the Indian alike—did not escape notice even at the time. “The most prominent and best-educated among the natives,” the *Builder* pointed out in 1888, in a review of Anglo-Indian architecture, “are almost of necessity

the most Europeanised in their tastes and ideas." Indeed, they went on, "the complaint against the native at present, on the part of the Englishman in India, is exactly that he is not sufficiently imbued with European habits, tastes, and principles; . . . And when he becomes so, as undoubtedly in spite of all obstacles of caste and prejudice, he will in time, among the forms in which his Europeanised taste is displayed with be his architecture. The Europeanised Hindu will not care for the revival of the ancient Hindu style; it will not suit his feelings or his taste; he will want to Europeanise his house. This may be regretted on some grounds; but it is the almost certain result of the extension of a European civilization."⁷

The old princely elite responded more favorably to Indo-Saracenic architecture, for they were included in the vision that sustained it. Yet even they could not wholly accept the restraints imposed by its colonial character. From the time of the Oudh nawabs onward, as they built their palaces, India's princes sought to claim at least some place in the new order they saw emerging around them. Hence many rejected Indo-Saracenic designs altogether in favor of classical styles; others restricted the use of this architecture to public arenas, where it could be employed as a setting to impress the colonial overlord. The lesser gentry and artisans too, as Growse discovered to his dismay, had no wish to see the originality of their designs confined by a British conception of what was properly "traditional."

The princes had, nevertheless, but an ambivalent commitment to participation in the new India. Few bothered even to send their children to the Mayo College, even though it had been established especially to meet their needs, and those who did so refused to tolerate such essential "character-building" elements of the English public school as mixed boarding, with boys of all sorts thrown together in a single residence, and a spartan style of living. The princes could not, in any case, as rulers whose sole claim to legitimacy derived from their ties to India's past, repudiate the architectural style the British had defined as representing that past. Inevitably they remained confined within the assumptions of the colonial order that alone secured power in their hands. Such buildings as the Lallgarh Palace in Bikaner defined for the princes their only possible place in the India of the Raj.

As the British in the early twentieth century found themselves challenged alike by foreign rivals and colonial nationalists, they turned increasingly to the architectural styles of European classicism. These forms

stood opposed not only to the Indo-Saracenic traditions of the Raj, but to the burgeoning modernist movement of contemporary Europe as well. Nevertheless, a classical architecture proved exceptionally well suited to the declining British Empire of the early twentieth century. In the first place, and above all, this style spoke clearly of empire to a European audience anxious for reassurance. The size and monumentality of its structures, their ordered regularity, and their evocation of the glories of Rome together announced that the Raj still mattered, that Britain, despite its loss of world preeminence, still remained an imperial power. Whether the Admiralty Arch and Buckingham Palace on London's Mall at its center, the imposing buildings of such cities as Pretoria and New Delhi, or the grandiose Victoria Memorials in a dozen capitals from London to Calcutta, by their uniformity of style these buildings made visible the ties binding the varied states of an empire on which the sun still never set.

Baker had been the first to see clearly the value of classical design in representing the empire of the twentieth century, and he had himself, in the Union Buildings in Pretoria, erected the first great monument of this imperial architecture. The Renaissance facades of these buildings, with their imposing colonnades and porticoes, set upon the acropolis site of Meintjes Kop, expressed ideals of law, order, and government that were in no way intended for South Africa alone. Although the post-Boer War era of imperial Reconstruction, as Milner and his "kindergarten" shaped a new South Africa, offered the occasion for their elaboration, Baker's architectural ideals spanned, as they were meant to join together, a far-flung empire that would forever secure Britain's position in the world. From South Africa Baker took this imperial architecture to New Delhi, and subsequently, in the 1920s, to Kenya, where he designed the Government House, Nairobi, and other buildings for the governor, Sir Edward Grigg, in a similar style.

These classical elements did not of course shape an identical architecture everywhere. Each colonial territory, as Baker saw it, possessed its own distinctive climate and cultural heritage to which the "elemental" classical forms had of necessity to be adapted. For this reason, as we have seen, Baker did not simply reproduce the Pretoria design in his Delhi secretariats, but rather endeavored to "graft" onto their classical forms "structural features of the architecture of India, as well as decoration expressing the myths, symbols, and history of its people." In Kenya Baker was exercised over the question of how to cope with the brilliance of the

equatorial sun at high altitudes. With the sun as his ally, he wrote, the architect "has only to model his plain wall surfaces and apportion his openings under wide overhanging cornices or eaves, and the kindly sun casts its deep cool shadows diffused with soft-toned reflected light on the bright warm whites and greys of the walls below." Hence the Nairobi Government House (fig. 53), with its colonnaded patio, tiled roof, and loggias giving vistas across the city below, incorporated the central features of his Pretoria and Delhi designs, but rigorously simplified and on a smaller scale.⁸

Nor did the erection of the great monuments on Raisina Hill put an end to classical building in India. Indeed, the younger Delhi architects, who had worked with Lutyens and Baker, maintained, as Gavin Stamp has written, "one of the last healthy flowerings of the Classical tradition anywhere." Robert Tor Russell (1888–1972), as the Government of India's own chief architect throughout the 1920s and 1930s, put up many buildings in New Delhi itself, including the colonnaded Connaught Circus shopping center and the Commander-in-Chief's House; H. A. N. Medd (1892–1977), Baker's representative after his departure for England, designed both the Anglican and the Catholic cathedral in New Delhi, as well as the High Court in Nagpur, the latter modeled closely on



53. Government House, Nairobi, designed by Herbert Baker. From Baker, *Architecture and Personalities*.

Lutyens's Viceroy's House; A. G. Shoosmith (1888–1974), Lutyens's representative in the 1920s, and Walter Sykes George (1881–1962), initially employed by Baker, designed a variety of buildings in Delhi, Simla, and elsewhere during long periods of practice in India.⁹

Throughout, as he sought to fit the "elemental" forms of classical design to the needs of individual colonial territories, Baker's architecture expressed the ideals of the Round Table movement. With his fellow "kindergarteners," Baker at once celebrated the enduring unity of Britain's empire, yet endeavored to accommodate, within the structure of that empire, a growing colonial nationalism. Such measures as the 1910 Act of Union in South Africa and the 1919 Government of India Act, with its invention of the power-sharing system of dyarchy, can be seen as the legislative equivalents of Baker's work in stone and mortar. Each aimed to preserve the essential unity of the Empire while recognizing the distinctive needs of colonial nationalism.

This enterprise was far more successful in South Africa than in India. Although the Union Buildings exalted, not the Cape Dutch architecture South Africa claimed as its own, but the classicism of a worldwide empire, still these structures, much like the 1910 act itself, helped to reconcile the South Africans to continued membership in the imperial system. They did so by ignoring altogether the interests of the country's black majority, as did the 1910 act as well, while speaking to the whites, Afrikaner and English alike, with a shared architectural language derived from a shared European cultural heritage. In India, as we have seen, the British were reluctant to reach out in similar fashion to the educated elite. Even dyarchy, though a product of the Round Table movement, did not evoke much enthusiasm as a device for the devolution of power. Two years after its inauguration Baker himself worried that this shared system of government "seems to have let the floodgates open to a monarchy of the Indians so ill-prepared for it."¹⁰

As a classical architecture did not represent a shared past, the British could not in India so easily use its forms, as they had in South Africa, to open the way to the end of empire. Still, a colonial elite educated in European ways and determined to share power in the modern world, could lay claim to these buildings for themselves. Their classical forms could be seen as representing not just imperial power, but the colonial territory's equivalence as a modern state with the former imperial master. Lutyens's

and Baker's structures atop Raisina Hill, carefully cherished and maintained, have remained to this date the administrative center of an independent India.

Yet, inevitably, the educated Indian was caught up in an ambivalent response to the buildings he saw around him. Although, on the one hand, the forms of European classicism represented the modern world he sought to enter, at the same time they announced the preeminence of a culture that was not his. Indo-Saracenic forms, by contrast, tied the Indian to a past that his conquerors, not he, had made, and that served their interests. Yet he could not wholly disown that past, and he could find in it elements of greatness that he sought to claim as his own. In the early twentieth century, Gandhi, and those who with him rejected industrialism, found in the crafts vision much that was attractive, while others derived encouragement from the work of men like Havell who sought to reclaim the country's artistic heritage. The Indians, however, as they took over this ideal of a "spiritual" India based in its villages, infused it with a new, nationalist content. A nostalgia for India's past greatness, memorably evoked in such works as *The Discovery of India*, stirred even so staunchly modern a nationalist as Jawaharlal Nehru; and during the 1950s, as independent India's first prime minister, he erected in New Delhi's ornate red sandstone Asoka Hotel perhaps India's last major Indo-Saracenic-styled building. Still, for his most imposing project, the construction of a new capital for the Punjab, Nehru chose the internationally renowned French architect, Le Corbusier. In an uncompromising rejection of the Indo-Saracenic tradition, the starkly modernist facades of Chandigarh show no trace of Indian architectural forms, nor even any appreciable effort to accommodate the country's climatic and social requirements.¹¹

Indo-Saracenic architecture, then, at once created a past for India and asserted British mastery of that past. With Victoria as empress, and the countryside marked out with imposing Indo-Saracenic post offices, colleges, and law courts, the British could make a double claim. Buildings put up by the Raj for its purposes, these structures proclaimed the supremacy of the British as they sought to reshape India. At the same time they asserted a claim to knowledge, and hence to power, from within. Britain not only ruled, as the Romans had done, but had mastered the Orient. Far more than classical forms, Indo-Saracenic architecture expressed, as it helped shape, the self-confident Age of Imperialism.

This confidence was not to last. By the 1920s, despite the mammoth building project under way on the plains of Delhi, the knowledge that had sustained the Empire for so long was fast slipping away. Although the causes of the decline in imperial power lay elsewhere, that decline can be measured by the abandonment of the use of Indian elements in British imperial building. Throughout its rule Britain refused either to reshape India in its own image or to fashion from its indigenous forms an architecture that could sustain an independent India. As a result, when the Empire came to an end, Britain's buildings alone remained: the lasting testimony Baker had foreseen when he had proclaimed, echoing Curzon, "Our work is righteous and it shall endure."¹²

Abbreviations

AGG	Agent to the Governor-General
IOL	India Office Library
IOR	India Office Records
JEIA	<i>Journal of the East India Association</i>
JIA	<i>Journal of Indian Art [and Industry]</i>
JRIBA	<i>Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects</i>
J[R]SA	<i>Journal of the [Royal] Society of Arts</i>
NAI	National Archives of India
PWD	Public Works Department
TRIBA	<i>Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects</i>

Notes

Chapter I

1. T. Roger Smith, "Architectural Art in India," *JSA* 21 (1873): 278–87, esp. 286–87.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 279, 281.
3. For a stimulating discussion of the political and cultural significance of the country house, see Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House* (London, 1978; Penguin paper, 1980).
4. For an account of this controversy, see Ellen K. Morris, "Symbols of Empire: Architectural Style and the Government Offices Competition," *Journal of Architectural Education* 32 (1978): 8–13. See also the various debates in Parliament, especially, for the Foreign Office, that of 11 February 1859, *Hansard*, 3rd ser., vol. 152, cols. 260–73, and *passim*. For the controversy over the Parliament House, see W. J. Rohrabach, "Politics and the Architectural Competition for the Houses of Parliament," *Victorian Studies* 17 (1973): 155–75.
5. For the Foreign and India Office designs, see *Builder*, 14 July 1866, pp. 525 and 527, and 26 October 1867, pp. 781–83. For general discussion, see Donovan Williams, *The India Office, 1858–1869* (Hoshiarpur, 1983), pp. 134–37, 147–48; and Lavinia Handley-Read, "Legacy of a Vanished Empire: The Design of the India Office," *Country Life* 9 July 1970, pp. 110–12.
6. Sten Nilsson, *European Architecture in India, 1750–1850* (London, 1968), pp. 133, 163.
7. T. Roger Smith, "On Buildings for European Occupation in Tropical Climates, Especially India," *TRIBA*, 1st ser., 18 (1867–68): 198.
8. For an account of the presumed dangers of the climate in Kenya and Rhodesia, see Dane Kennedy, "Climatic Theories and Culture in Colonial Kenya and Rhodesia," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 10 (1981): 50–66.
9. Smith, "On Buildings for European Occupation," pp. 198–99.
10. For a full discussion of the origin and spread of the bungalow form, see Anthony King, *The Bungalow* (London, 1984).
11. Smith, "Architectural Art in India," p. 286. See also his "On Buildings for European Occupation," pp. 199–200, 208, and *passim*.

12. For what has become the classic account of the role of the creation of knowledge in the colonial enterprise, see Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978). Though I do not agree with his imputation of political motives to all European scholarship on the "East," nor with his often polemical tone, Said's insights have stimulated and helped shape my own study of the ways the British created knowledge of and represented India and their Raj in architecture. For an essay that relates Said's general insights to British scholarship on India, see Ronald Inden, "Orientalist Constructions of India," *Modern Asian Studies* 20 (1986): 401-46. For general discussion of the relationship of knowledge and power in modern society, see the well-known works of Michel Foucault, especially *The Archeology of Knowledge* (New York, 1972) and *Power Knowledge* (New York, 1980). For architecture as a form of social control, see the essay "The Eye of Power," in *Power Knowledge*, pp. 146-65.

13. For a stimulating general discussion of the colonial culture and the colonial city, see Anthony D. King, *Colonial Urban Development* (London, 1976). For a useful account of Madras as a case study, see Susan M. Neild, "Colonial Urbanism: The Development of Madras City in the 18th and 19th Centuries," *Modern Asian Studies* 13 (1979): 217-46. For the Lahore railway station, see *Professional Papers on Indian Engineering* 1 (1863-64): 207.

14. For a discussion of these buildings, see Nilsson, *European Architecture in India*, and Philip Davies, *Splendours of the Raj* (London, 1985), chaps. 2, 3, 4.

15. For a general account, see Gavin Stamp, "Church Architecture," in Robert Fermor-Hesketh, ed., *Architecture of the British Empire* (New York, 1986), pp. 148-85.

16. For the Australian Government Houses, see *Historic Houses* (Canberra: Australian Council of National Trusts, 1982), pp. 32-51, 216-27, and *passim*.

17. Nilsson, *European Architecture in India*, pp. 109-10. For a general discussion of Government Houses in India, see Mark Bence-Jones, *Palaces of the Raj* (London, 1973).

18. Curzon of Kedleston, *British Government in India* (London, 1925) 1:41. Curzon's volume provides a detailed account of the viceregal palace derived from personal knowledge both of the Calcutta residence, where he lived as viceroy from 1899 to 1905, and of Kedleston, his family's ancestral seat.

19. For the interior design, see *ibid.*, chap. 5.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 71. Wellesley was recalled not just because of his expenditure on the Government House, but also because of his costly wars in the north and his unauthorized founding of Fort William College, Calcutta.

21. Maria Graham [Callcott], *Journal of a Residence in India* (Edinburgh, 2nd ed., 1813), pp. 132-33; William Hodges, *Travels in India During the Years 1780, 1781, 1782, and 1783* (London, 1793), p. 2. See also Nilsson, *European Architecture in India*, pp. 25-27, 106-7.

22. For the Lawrence and Montgomery Halls, see Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore, Its History, Architectural Remains, and Antiquities* (Lahore, 1956 reprint), pp. 309-11.

23. Herbert Baker, *Architecture and Personalities* (London, 1944), pp. 220-21. For further discussion of Baker, see chaps. 6 and 7.

24. James Fergusson, *History of the Modern Styles of Architecture* [hereafter *Modern Styles*] (London, 1862), p. 409.

25. For Pachaiyappa's Hall, see *Pachaiyappa's College Centenary Commemoration Book (1842-1942)* (Madras, 1942), pp. 68-69. (I am indebted to Susan Neild Basu for this reference.) The college was funded from the proceeds of a trust established by the philanthropist Pachaiyappa Mudaliar (d. 1794). For the architecture of Oudh, see chap. 4

in this volume and Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, *A Fatal Friendship: The Nawabs, the British and the City of Lucknow* (Delhi, 1985).

26. Mildred and W. G. Archer, *Indian Painting for the British 1770-1880* (Oxford, 1952), pp. 3-5. See also Pratapaditya Pal and Vidya Dehejia, *From Merchants to Emperors: British Artists and India, 1757-1930* (Ithaca and London, 1986), pp. 97-100. For general discussion of the picturesque movement, see David Watkin, *The English Vision: The Picturesque in Architecture, Landscape, and Garden Design* (London, 1982).

27. See Mildred Archer, *Early Views of India: The Picturesque Journeys of Thomas and William Daniell, 1786-1794* (London, 1980), for discussion of the Daniells' travels and reproductions of their Indian views. Hodges' volume is entitled *Select Views in India* (London, 1786).

28. Graham, *Journal of a Residence in India*, p. 54. For general discussion of the British response to Indian cave architecture, see Partha Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 123-39.

29. Hodges, *Travels in India*, pp. 64, 122, 126-27. In Hodges' view, Greek architecture, whose forms were "suggested by the primitive form of a rural hut in champaign wooded country," stood sharply at odds with the Oriental and Gothic, which "derived its form from those surprising excavations which are found in rocky and mountainous regions" (p. 77).

30. Patrick Conner, *Oriental Architecture in the West* (London, 1979), pp. 114, 117.

31. For discussion of nabob architecture, see Raymond Head, *The Indian Style* (London, 1986), pp. 8-12, 21-22. For descriptions of Sezincote, see Conner, *Oriental Architecture*, pp. 120-24; Head, *The Indian Style*, pp. 37-43; and *Country Life*, 13 May 1939, pp. 502-6.

32. For discussion of the Pavilion, see Conner, *Oriental Architecture*, chap. 10 (pp. 131-53); Head, *The Indian Style*, pp. 44-55; and John Dinkel, *The Royal Pavilion Brighton* (London, 1983). The fullest account is in Clifford Musgrave, *The Royal Pavilion* (London, 1959).

33. For Hodges' views, see his *Travels in India*, pp. 75-76; for Dance, see Conner, *Oriental Architecture*, pp. 115-17, and Head, *The Indian Style*, pp. 23-24.

34. See Pal and Dehejia, *From Merchants to Emperors*, chap. 5; and R. Desmond, "Photography in South Asia During the Nineteenth Century," *India Office Library and Records Annual Report for 1974*, pp. 5-38.

35. James Mill, *History of British India*, ed. H. H. Wilson (London, 1840), vol. 2, esp. pp. 152-223. For a full account of Mill's views of India and of those of the Benthamites in general, see Eric Stokes, *The English Utilitarians and India* (Oxford, 1959).

Chapter 2

1. James Fergusson, "On the Study of Indian Architecture," *JSA* 15 (1866): 71.

2. There are numerous studies of the "Orientalists" and their discoveries. See, e.g., P. J. Marshall, *The British Discovery of Hinduism* (Cambridge, 1970), S. N. Mukherjee, *Sir William Jones* (Cambridge, 1968), Rosanne Rocher, *Orientalism, Poetry, and the Millennium: The Checkered Life of Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, 1751-1830* (Delhi, 1983), and for a recent account which emphasizes the role of these men in the colonial enterprise, Bernard Cohn, "The Command of Language and the Language of Command," in Ranajit Guha, ed., *Subaltern Studies* 5 (Delhi, 1986).

3. For early European views, especially of Indian cave architecture, see Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters*, pp. 127-68 and passim.

4. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* [hereafter *History*] (London, 1876 ed.), pp. 4, 6. In similar fashion Jones spoke of Asia as the "handmaid" of a Europe whose "superior advancement in all kinds of useful knowledge" was unquestioned. See "Second Anniversary Discourse," *Asiatick Researches*, vol. 1 (1784), esp. pp. 406-8.

5. R. F. Chisholm comment on James Ransome, "European Architecture in India," *JRIBA*, 3rd ser., 12 (1905): 200.

6. Fergusson, "On the Study of Indian Architecture," p. 71.

7. Madras Public Proceedings 29 October 1867, no. 263-64 and 13 November 1867, no. 98. See also Fergusson, *History*, p. 342, n. 1.

8. [Henry Hardy Cole], *Illustrations of Ancient Buildings in Kashmir* (London, 1869), p. A2; and Fergusson, *History*, p. 280.

9. [Henry Hardy Cole], *Illustrations of Buildings near Muttra and Agra, Showing the Mixed Hindu-Mahomedan Style of Upper India* (London, 1873), p. 2; and Fergusson, *History*, p. 281.

10. See, e.g., H. H. Cole, *Catalogue of the Objects of Indian Art Exhibited in the South Kensington Museum* [hereafter *Catalogue*] (London, 1874), p. 10.

11. Fergusson, *History*, p. 34. For a brief discussion of Cole's and Fergusson's views of Indian art, see Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters*, pp. 256-67; and for Fergusson, see Pramod Chandra, *On the Study of Indian Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), pp. 10-20.

12. Fergusson, *History*, p. 91.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.

14. Cole, *Catalogue*, pp. 15-16. For Cunningham, see Abu Imam, *Sir Alexander Cunningham and the Beginnings of Indian Archaeology* (Dacca, 1966), esp. pp. 169-73; and Chandra, *On the Study of Indian Art*, pp. 20-22.

15. Fergusson, *History*, pp. 406-8 and passim. "Chalukyan" Fergusson regarded as only a "conventional term" derived from the principal medieval dynasty of that area of the Deccan. See also his "On the Study of Indian Architecture," pp. 71-72.

16. Cole, *Catalogue*, p. 8; and Fergusson, *History*, pp. 10-11, 37-41, and passim.

17. Fergusson, *History*, pp. 11, 323-24, 341-42. Fergusson conceived that the Dravidians may have migrated to southern India from the Middle East in the pre-Aryan age.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 324, 408.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 221-25, 411-12, and his "On the Study of Indian Architecture," p. 72. Fergusson speculated (p. 379) that the South Indian *gopuram* might have been inspired by the pylons of the ancient Egyptian temple. In discussing the origins of the *shikra* he preferred not to notice its phallic symbolism.

20. Fergusson, *History*, p. 378. See also his description of Kumbakonam as "not old enough to be quite of the best age, but . . . still not so modern as to have lost all the character and expression of the earlier examples" (p. 369).

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 362, 365, and passim. For a brief general discussion of Western views of South Indian temple architecture, see Partha Mitter, "Western Bias in the Study of South Indian Aesthetics," *South Asian Review* 6 (1973): 125-36.

22. Fergusson, *History*, pp. 345, 347, 355. He singled out as especially deficient in their basic design the temples of Srirangam and Tiruvalur.

23. *Builder*, 27 August 1870, p. 681. Napier was governor of Madras from 1866 to 1872.

24. *Ibid.*, 22 April 1876, pp. 375-76, and 29 April 1876, pp. 406-7.

25. *Ibid.*, 10 September 1870, p. 723.

26. *Ibid.*, 26 August 1876, p. 822.

27. For the derivation of the term "Saracen," see the *Oxford English Dictionary* 9 (1933): 106-7. For a discussion of European views of Islam, and the role of Oriental scholarship in shaping those views, see Said, *Orientalism*, esp. pp. 59-68.

28. *Builder*, 10 September 1870, pp. 722-23.

29. Wilfred Scawen Blunt, *The Future of Islam* (London, 1882), p. 142; and A. C. Lyall, *Asiatic Studies, Religious and Social*, 2nd ed. (London, 1884), p. 276.

30. Fergusson, *History*, p. 491.

31. *Builder*, 10 September 1870, p. 723.

32. Fergusson, *History*, pp. 490-92, 497, and passim.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 498-99, 509, 513.

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 499, 510, 513.

35. *Ibid.*, pp. 510, 514, 518-19.

36. *Architecture at Beejapoor* [with a historical and descriptive memoir by Captain Meadows Taylor and architectural notes by James Fergusson] (London, 1866), p. 61. See also Captain Philip D. Hart, *Architectural Illustrations of the Principal Mahomedan Buildings of Beejapoor*, ed. James Fergusson (London, 1859).

37. Fergusson, *History*, pp. 545-46.

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 491, 542, 544. A part of the attraction of these deserted capitals too was their "romantic" situation. See, e.g., Fergusson's description of the "profoundly melancholy impression" made by the ruins of Gaur (p. 551), or the "scene of desolation in grandeur" at Bijapur (p. 567).

39. *Ibid.*, pp. 492, 533.

40. *Building News*, 18 September 1885, p. 445. See also *Builder*, 26 August 1876, p. 823.

41. Fergusson, *History*, pp. 527, 530, 533-34. See also *Architecture at Beejapoor*, p. 85.

42. *Builder*, 26 August 1876, p. 823; and William Emerson, "A Description of Some Buildings Recently Erected in India, with Some Remarks on Domes and the Mingling of Styles of Architecture," *TRIBA*, 1st ser., 34 (1883-84): 152.

43. Fergusson, *History*, pp. 562-65.

44. Emerson's two domes were those of the Muir College, Allahabad, and Takhtsingji Hospital, Bhavnagar. See his "A Description of Some Buildings Recently Erected in India," pp. 153-54; and R. F. Chisholm, "A New College for the Gaekwar of Baroda, with Notes on Style and Domical Construction in India," *TRIBA*, 1st ser., 33 (1882-83): 144-46.

45. Emerson, "A Description of Some Buildings Recently Erected in India," p. 156. For a theoretical discussion of the origins and significance of the dome, see E. Baldwin Smith, *The Dome* (Princeton, 1971).

46. Fergusson, *History*, p. 558.

47. Sir Richard Temple comment on R. Phene Spiers, "The Late Major Mant, R. E.," *TRIBA*, 1st ser., 32 (1881-82): 105. See also Richard Temple, "Picturesqueness in Reference to Architecture," *TRIBA*, 2nd ser., 5 (1889): 64.

48. William Emerson, "On the Taj Mahal at Agra," *TRIBA*, 1st ser., 20 (1869-70): 195; *Builder*, 26 August 1876, p. 823.

49. Fergusson, *History*, pp. 569-70, 599.

50. Ibid., pp. 578, 590, 595.
51. Ibid., pp. 574, 583; and H. H. Cole, *Illustrations of Buildings near Muttra and Agra*, pp. 7, 66, 80, 96.
52. *Builder*, 10 September 1898, pp. 221-24.
53. Fergusson, *History*, pp. 599-600. See also pp. 593-94.
54. Chisholm, "A New College for the Gaekwar of Baroda," p. 142. In 1888, criticizing the "mere picturesqueness" of the marble buildings of northern India, he described the Taj as "a stupendous jewel in which both architectural truth and skill are lost amidst considerations of costliness and effect" (*Builder*, 3 November 1888, p. 322).
55. Archer, *Early Views of India*, pls. 27, 28, 29, with text.
56. Fergusson, *History*, p. 599; and Emerson, "On the Taj Mahal at Agra," pp. 195, 198.
57. Emerson, "On the Taj Mahal at Agra," pp. 200-1; and Emerson, "A Description of Some Buildings Recently Erected in India," p. 155.
58. Fergusson, *History*, p. 588.
59. Ibid., pp. 602-4.
60. H. R. Nevill, *Lucknow: A Gazetteer* (Allahabad, 1904), p. 200.
61. Fergusson, *History*, p. 604; and *Builder*, 10 September 1870, p. 723.
62. Fergusson, *Modern Styles*, pp. 418-22.
63. Pramod Chandra, "The Study of Indian Temple Architecture," in P. Chandra, ed., *Studies in Indian Temple Architecture* (New Delhi, 1975), p. 13. Burgess was archaeological surveyor for western and southern India from 1874 to 1885 and director general of the Archeological Survey, 1885-89. He collaborated with Fergusson in the publication of the *Cave Temples of India* (London, 1880).
64. E. B. Havell, *Indian Architecture* (London, 1913), esp. pp. v, 1-3, 39. This book was provoked by the controversy, in which Havell participated vigorously, over the appropriate architectural style for New Delhi, which is discussed in chap. 7. For a general discussion of studies of Indian art and archeology in the twentieth century, see Chandra, "The Study of Indian Temple Architecture," pp. 1-39, and his *On the Study of Indian Art*.
65. Chandra, *On the Study of Indian Art*, pp. 33-34.
66. Vincent A. Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* (Oxford, 1911), pp. 125-29, 416-18. For an earlier, and even more favorable view of Gandhara, see his "Greco-Roman Influence on the Civilization of Ancient India," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 58 (1889), esp. pp. 112-37.
67. Hermann Goetz, *The Crisis of Indian Civilization in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Calcutta, 1938).
68. Cole, *Illustrations of Buildings near Muttra and Agra*, p. 8. As examples of "blended" Hindu buildings Cole illustrated the Govind Deva temple at Brindaban, built by Man Singh in 1592, the *chattri* of Suraj Mal (1788), and the mid-eighteenth-century pavilions at Dig.
69. Fergusson, *History*, pp. 480-83; and Temple, "Picturesqueness in Reference to Architecture," p. 58.
70. Purdon Clarke, "Examples of Moghul Art in the India Museum," *TRIBA*, 2nd ser., 4 (1888): 128. Purdon Clarke was keeper of the Indian Section of the South Kensington Museum.
71. Chandra, *On the Study of Indian Art*, p. 22. See also his "The Study of Indian Temple Architecture," pp. 35-37. For a preliminary account of Vijayanagar, soon to be

extended, see John M. Fritz, George Michell, and M. S. Nagaraja Rao, *The Royal Centre at Vijayanagara Preliminary Report* (Department of Architecture and Building, University of Melbourne, 1984). Revisionist studies of Mughal architecture are also under way by such scholars as Catherine Asher and others.

Chapter 3

1. For general accounts of the changed structure of the Raj after the Mutiny, see, e.g., Thomas R. Metcalf, *The Aftermath of Revolt: India, 1857-1870* (Princeton, 1964); Veena Oldenburg, *The Making of Colonial Lucknow* (Princeton, 1984); and Francis Hutchins, *The Illusion of Permanence* (Princeton, 1967).
2. For the Royal Titles Act, and the general revival of imperialism during Disraeli's years as prime minister, see L. A. Knight, "The Royal Titles Act and India," *Historical Journal* 11 (1968): 499-507, and C. C. Eldridge, *England's Mission: The Imperial Idea in the Age of Gladstone and Disraeli, 1868-1880* (Chapel Hill, 1973). For an account of the 1877 Imperial Assemblage, see Bernard S. Cohn, "Representing Authority in Victorian India," in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (New York, 1984), pp. 165-209.
3. See, e.g., Lyall, *Asiatic Studies, Religious and Social*, pp. vi-vii.
4. Smith, "Architectural Art in India," pp. 286-87.
5. Fergusson, "On the Study of Indian Architecture," p. 71.
6. "Modern Architecture in India," *Builder*, 27 August 1870, p. 681.
7. Ibid., 10 September 1870, p. 723. For the British view of Islamic architecture, see chap. 2.
8. See *Administrative Manual of the Madras Presidency* (Madras, 1885), vol. 1, p. 375. Little is known of Chisholm's early life. Following his official career in Madras, he undertook independent commissions in India, including a palace for the Maharaja of Baroda and offices in Bombay. In 1900 he returned to England. His chief work there was a Christian Science Church, Sloane Street, London (1903), together with an Indic design for an Indian museum (never constructed) in Southwark. See his obituary in *JRIBA* 22 (1915): 427.
9. *Builder*, 10 September 1870, p. 723.
10. For the history of the Wallajahi dynasty of Arcot, see N. S. Ramaswami, *Political History of Carnatic Under the Nawabs* [hereafter *Carnatic Nawabs*] (New Delhi, 1984), and J. D. Gurney, "Fresh Light on the Character of the Nawab of Arcot," in Anne Whiteman et al., eds., *Statesmen, Scholars, and Merchants* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 220-41.
11. For the Chepauk Palace, see Henry Davison Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras, 1640-1800* (London, 1913), vol. 2, pp. 609-14; and Ramaswami, *Carnatic Nawabs*, pp. 317-22.
12. Little is known of Benfield's career apart from his financial dealings. For a general discussion of the period, see Percival Spear, *The Nabobs* (London, 1963; 1st ed. 1932).
13. "The Revenue Board Buildings in Madras," *Professional Papers on Indian Engineering*, 2nd ser., 1 (1872): 1-2; *Administrative Report of the Madras Public Works Department for 1871-72* (Madras, 1872), p. 4; and *Builder*, 31 December 1870, pp. 1047-49.
14. "Architecture in Madras," *Builder*, 5 June 1869, p. 449.
15. Ibid.; and Chisholm, "A New College for the Gaekwar of Baroda," p. 141.

16. "Tiroomal Naik's Palace, Madura," *TRIBA*, 1st ser., 26 (1875-76): 159-78, esp. pp. 164, 170; and "A New College for the Gaekwar of Baroda," p. 143.
17. "Architecture in Madras," p. 449. In his encouragement of native craftsmanship Chisholm participated in the larger currents of the late-nineteenth-century arts and crafts movement, which is discussed in chap. 5. He always feared the "debasement" of European forms when introduced into India "without the life, the soul, the vigour of the art; the mere copying of details without the acquisition of the inventive faculties of the originators."
18. "Modern Architecture in India," *Builder*, 27 August 1870, p. 682. For ecclesiastical building in the Indo-Saracenic style, see pp. 98-104.
19. "The Napier Museum Trevandrum" [Madras, 20 October 1872], pp. 2-4, in R.I.B.A. Pamphlet Collection, no. 71, pp. 139-43.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.
21. *Building News*, 18 November 1881, p. 658. The building cost over six lakhs of rupees and, although commenced in 1875, was only completed in 1884. See *Administrative Manual of the Madras Presidency* 1: 375, where the structure is also described as "in the Hindu-Saracenic style." The similarity of the Travancore-styled eaves to Gothic design—a parallel Chisholm had himself pointed out—has misled one recent author into describing the Post Office as an "essay in Victorian Gothic." Davies, *Splendours of the Raj*, p. 195.
22. "The Surat High School," *Professional Papers on Indian Engineering*, 1st ser., 5 (1868): 315-16; *Bombay Builder* 3 (6 April 1868): 352. For an account of Mant's career, see R. Phene Spiers, "The Late Major Mant, R. E.," pp. 100-102.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 100; see also Temple's comments on Spiers's paper, pp. 103-5.
24. For a general account, see J. A. Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism* (Harmondsworth, 1986).
25. Major-General H. D. Daly, Agent to the Governor-General [AGG] in Central India, to C. U. Aitchison, Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department, 5 August 1870, and Note by Aitchison of 23 August 1870, NAI Foreign Department Political A Proceedings, December 1870, no. 608-9. See also Secretary Govt. India Foreign Department to AGG Rajputana, 29 December 1870, *ibid.*; and Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism*, chap. 5, esp. pp. 125-26.
26. For a full account of the organization of the college, and its early years, see Herbert Sherring, *The Mayo College: A Record of Twenty Years, 1875-1895* (Calcutta, 1897). On the boarding arrangements, see, e.g., AGG Rajputana to Political Agent Marwar, 24 May 1873, NAI Foreign Department General A Proceedings, July 1873, no. 14. The college remains to this day, though no longer open only to princes, a highly select boarding school.
27. Secretary Govt. India PWD to Executive Engineer Mayo College, 7 December 1871, NAI PWD B.&R.-Civil Bldg. Proceedings, April 1872, no. 1-4; and Note by C. W. Buckland, 2 May 1872, Foreign Department General A Proceedings, June 1873, no. 114-37. Part of the objection to the Grecian design stemmed from the high cost of quarrying and conveying the large blocks of marble the scheme required. The additional cost was estimated at up to two and a half lakhs of rupees. See Executive Engineer to Secretary Govt. India PWD, 29 July 1872, PWD B.&R.-Civil Bldg. Proceedings, September 1872, no. 16.
28. J. Gordon to Secretary Govt. India, 26 July 6 1872, PWD B.&R.-Civil Bldg. Proceedings, September 1872, no. 7. Unfortunately it was not possible to locate copies of

- Gordon's or the other unbuilt designs in the NAI.
29. Maj.-Gen. A. Cunningham to Secretary Govt. India Home Dept., 9 July 1872, *ibid.*, no. 17.
30. See M. C. Joshi, *Dig* (Archaeological Survey of India: New Delhi, 1971), esp. pp. 6-10.
31. Fergusson, *History*, p. 97; Temple, "Picturesqueness in Reference to Architecture," p. 58. Nowadays, by contrast with the popular nearby sites of Agra and Fatehpur Sikri, Dig is rarely visited.
32. *Ibid.* See also, for a similar view, *The Bhawans or Garden Palaces of Dig* (Alahabad, 1902) pp. 16-17, in IOL Curzon Papers MSS Eur. F. 111/716. For the problems of classification, see chap. 2.
33. Secretary Govt. India PWD to Exec. Engineer Mayo College, 27 August 1872, PWD B.&R.-Civil Bldg. Proceedings, September 1872, no. 18.
34. Note by C. H. Dickens, Secretary Govt. India PWD of 14 December 1872, Foreign Department General A Proceedings, June 1873, no. 114-37. Dickens himself, to avoid further delay, preferred to proceed at once with Gordon's original classical design. No information remains in the files as to which princes were consulted or how the matter was presented to them.
35. Proposed Design by R. Joscelyne of 24 March 1874, PWD B.&R.-Civil Bldg. B Proceedings, May 1874, no. 31-33; and Secretary Govt. India PWD to AGG Rajputana, 6 March 1875, B.&R.-Civil Bldg. B. Proceedings, March 1875, no. 10-12. B. H. Ellis, Public Works Member of the Viceroy's Council, strongly opposed any classical design, preferring instead either Gordon's "Hindoo" design, or the appointment of Mant, who "has a great deal of taste and would design something that would be satisfactory." Note of 6 December 1872, Foreign Department General A Proceedings, June 1873, no. 114-37.
36. Proceedings of Mayo College Council, 4 January 1877, Foreign Department General A Proceedings, November 1877, no. 226. For the sanction of the additional cost, see Sec. Govt. India to AGG Rajputana, 11 March 1878, Foreign Department General B Proceedings, March 1878, no. 198. The school opened in October 1875 with twenty-three students in residence. By the time the college building was completed enrollment had risen to eighty.
37. "General Description of the Design for Mayo College" [n.d., c. August 1876], PWD B.&R.-Civil Bldg. A Proceedings, March 1877, no. 6. This document is reprinted in R. Phene Spiers, "The Late Major Mant," pp. 110-12.
38. Secretary Govt. India PWD to Exec. Engineer Mayo College, 27 August 1872, PWD B.&R.-Civil Bldg. Proceedings, September 1872, no. 18.
39. "General Description of the Design for Mayo College," PWD B.&R.-Civil Bldg. Proceedings, March 1877, no. 6.
40. For a full discussion of the British attitude toward the princes, and the princes' response to Indo-Saracenic architecture in their own building, see chap. 4.
41. *Building News*, 21 February 1879, p. 198; Temple's comment on Spiers, "The Late Major Mant," pp. 104-5.
42. "General Description of the Design for Mayo College," PWD B.&R.-Civil Bldg. Proceedings, March 1877, no. 6.
43. Secretary PWD to Mant, 7 October 1876, *ibid.*, no. 7; Mant to Secretary PWD, 1 November 1876, *ibid.*, no. 11; Note of G.F.L.M., 18 January 1877, *ibid.*, no. 14. So late as 1906, when an annex was being planned, senior government officials were still grumbling about the "aggressive" clock tower that "springs meaninglessly" from one of

the building's angles. See, e.g., Note of J. Ransome, consulting architect to the Government, of 19 March 1906, NAI Foreign Department Internal A Proceedings, May 1906, no. 67-68.

44. *Builder*, 14 February 1874, pp. 130, 133.

45. *Ibid.*, 1 August 1885, pp. 169-70.

46. *Building News*, 21 December 1877, p. 614; *Indian Engineer*, 1 May 1886, pp. 40-41; Emerson, "A Description of Some Buildings Recently Erected in India," p. 152.

47. For the tower as symbol of discipline in nineteenth-century America, see Daniel T. Rodgers, *The Work Ethic in Industrial America* (Chicago, 1978), pp. 153-54. I am indebted to Drew Faust for this reference.

48. "General Description of the Design for Mayo College," PWD B.&R.-Civil Bldg. Proceedings, March 1877, no. 6.

49. *Ibid.*

50. The Victoria Memorial was part of a larger complex of museum buildings, including the Connemara Public Library (1896), constructed at various times during the nineteenth century.

51. Emerson, "A Description of Some Buildings Recently Erected in India," p. 152; *Builder*, 22 June 1878, p. 636.

52. For the law courts, see *Indian Engineering*, 16 July 1892, p. 52, and *Indian Engineer*, 3 September 1892, p. 357. For the Law College, see *Indian Engineering*, 14 July 1894, p. 34, and 28 July 1894, p. 74. J. H. Stephens, assistant engineer with the PWD, collaborated with Irwin on the design and construction of both projects.

53. *Indian Engineering*, 4 February 1899, pp. 75-76. A competition held in 1895 awarded the first prize to Swinton Jacob, but his design was judged less suitable in its planning and interior arrangements than that of Irwin, who was placed second and was subsequently asked to prepare the final revised design. For Jacob's design, see *ibid.*, 4 April 1896, pp. 216-17.

54. *Ibid.*, 11 January 1902, p. 28; 18 January 1902, p. 37; and 18 July 1908, p. 46.

55. *Ibid.*, 10 March 1906, p. 160. In addition to his work at Madras, Irwin designed the Elizabethan-style Viceregal Lodge in Simla (1885-88) and the Indo-Saracenic-styled Amba Vilas Palace, Mysore (c. 1897).

56. *Ibid.*, 18 January 1902, p. 37.

57. Ransome, "European Architecture in India," *JRIBA* (1905), pp. 197-98.

58. Chisholm, "A New College for the Gaekwar of Baroda," p. 141.

59. For a general discussion of these themes, see Said, *Orientalism*. For an account of how the notion of India as a "traditional" society informed British views of its art, see chap. 5.

60. J. Burgess, "Indian Architectural Details," *JIA*, no. 32 (October 1890): 49-58, esp. 51-52. See also Jacob's account of the project in *Builder*, 24 January 1891, pp. 66-67. Though unhappy over Jacob's presentation of these ornaments apart from the larger context of the monuments to which they belonged, Burgess had in 1886 first called the attention of the Government of India to the desirability of publishing this collection. The volumes were published under the patronage of the maharaja of Jaipur, who met the bulk of the cost, by the photolithographer W. Griggs and Sons in London. Little biographical information is available for Swinton Jacob. See *Who Was Who 1916-1928* (London, 1929), vol. 2, p. 548, and *Times*, 7 December 1917, p. 7. For Jacob's work for the maharaja of Jaipur, see chap. 4.

61. Colonel S. S. Jacob, *Jeypore Portfolio of Architectural Details* (London, 1890), "Preface," and Part 5, "Arches," pl. 26-35.

62. Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament* (London, 1868). See also Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters*, pp. 120-30 and passim.

63. Fergusson, *History*, p. 90.

64. Emerson, "A Description of Some Buildings Recently Erected in India," p. 152; and Major C. Mant to Secretary Govt. India PWD, August 1876, PWD B.&R.-Civil Bldg. Proceedings, March 1877, no. 5.

65. *Builder*, 3 November 1888, p. 322.

66. Gavin Stamp, "Victorian Bombay: Urbs Prima in Indis," *Art and Archaeology Research Papers*, no. 11 (June 1977): 22; *Builder*, 6 November 1880, p. 568. Stevens first came to India in 1867 as an assistant engineer in the Bombay PWD and was appointed executive engineer in 1872. In 1884 he retired from government service in order to practice privately in Bombay. In 1889 he was awarded the C.I.E. for "services rendered in connection with public buildings in Bombay."

67. *Building News*, 7 November 1890, p. 644.

68. For a discussion of the Victorian architecture of Bombay, see Davies, *Splendours of the Raj*, chap. 7. An evocative contemporary account is to be found in J. H. Furneaux, ed., *Glimpses of India* (Philadelphia, 1895), chap. 7. See also *Builder*: for the Secretariat, 20 November 1875, pp. 1039-41; for the Public Works offices, 23 May 1874, pp. 437-39; for the Post Office, 6 March 1875, pp. 207-8, 211; for the University, 1 January 1876, pp. 10, 13; and for the Victoria Terminus, 23 October 1886, pp. 592-97, 608, and 13 October 1888, pp. 268-69. Several of these buildings are also illustrated in other journals, among them *Bombay Builder* and *Indian Engineering*.

69. *Indian Engineering*, 1 June 1889, p. 512. See also the description of the "Venetian Gothic" Punjab Courts in *Professional Papers on Indian Engineering*, 2nd ser., 3 (1874): 223-24.

70. *Bombay Builder* 4 (April 1869): 211-12; *Building News*, 27 November 1874, p. 641. For further discussion of Kipling and the crafts revival in India, see chap. 5.

71. *Builder*, 23 October 1886, p. 608; *ibid.*, 10 September 1887, p. 362.

72. *Indian Engineering*, 2 June 1894, p. 432; *Building News*, 20 March 1896, p. 419; 24 February 1899, p. 266.

73. John Begg, "The Work of George Wittet," *JRIBA* 36 (1929): 539; *Building News*, 1 January 1909, p. 9. See also the *Annual Report on Architectural Work in India for 1912-13* (Calcutta, 1913), pp. 11-12. Begg practiced privately in South Africa 1898-1901, served as consulting architect to the Government of Bombay, 1901-8, and then acted as consulting architect to the Government of India, 1908-21.

74. For the Prince of Wales Museum, see *Annual Report on Architectural Work in India for 1914-15* (Calcutta, 1916), pp. 1-3. Wittet won the 1908 museum competition with a design "in an adaptation of a phase of the Byzantine." Ironically, though this style in Chisholm's early days in Madras provided a way to gain acceptance for an exotic Oriental architecture, the government, used to the Indo-Saracenic, now regarded it as "unfamiliar," hence "distasteful"; and so they insisted that Wittet redesign the structure "in a style based on indigenous work," such as that of the new Post Office. Begg regarded Wittet's Byzantine design as "more original, more Wittet," than the "merely archaeological" design erected. Begg also considered the Gateway, though "ostensibly founded on the Ahmedabad type of Saracenic," to be "just an Indianized version of a Roman triumphal archway." Begg, "The Work of George Wittet," p. 540. Wittet was Begg's as-

sistant in Bombay 1904-8, and then consulting architect to the Bombay government from 1908 until his death in 1926. For illustrations of Wittet's work, see RIBA Photograph Albums 24 and 25.

75. *Times of India*, 10 March 1900, quoted in *JRIBA* 7 (1900): 374.

76. Furneaux, *Glimpses of India*, p. 198.

77. Smith, "On Buildings for European Occupation in Tropical Climates," p. 208. For the ecclesiologists' views of the appropriate church architecture for southern climates, see *Ecclesiologist* 6 (1846): 165-69.

78. *Building News*, 6 April 1877, p. 338; *Indian Engineer*, 1 May 1886, p. 41, and 5 February 1887, p. 184.

79. *Building News*, 8 October 1886, p. 530; S. S. Jacob, "Jeypore Church—Rajpootana," *Professional Papers on Indian Engineering*, 2nd ser., 7 (1878): 211-14. Even in 1909 James Ransome acknowledged that there existed "a very general desire for Gothic traditions in ecclesiastical buildings irrespective of local conditions." *Government of India Building Designs* (London, 1909), p. 27.

80. See Basil F. L. Clarke, *Anglican Cathedrals Outside the British Isles* (London, 1958), pp. 18-20. Indian church architecture is as yet an almost totally unstudied subject.

81. *Ecclesiologist* 6 (1846): 168.

82. F. S. Growse, *Mathura: A District Memoir* (1882; reprint, Delhi, 1979), pp. 161-62, 417-18. For Growse's subsequent artisanal building in Bulandshahr see chap. 5.

83. *Ibid.*, pp. 173, 419-20.

84. *Indian Engineering*, 22 July 1899, p. 59.

85. *Builder*, 27 August 1870, p. 682. James Ransome also suggested looking to "the earlier churches" of Byzantine times for styles more suited than Gothic to the plains of India. Ransome, *Government of India Building Designs*, p. 28. The *Ecclesiologist* too, from the opposite side, was prepared, if reluctantly, to accept the use of Byzantine forms. Although "far from beautiful," they would at least, far more than the Saracenic, proclaim the structure "throughout the East" as a Christian church (6: 168).

86. *Indian Engineering*, 31 May 1890, pp. 430 and 437, and 26 July 1890, p. 69.

87. Letter of 28 June 1890, *ibid.*, 5 July 1890, p. 11.

88. Letter of 7 August 1890, *ibid.*, 30 August 1890, p. 170. Pogson was vehemently opposed to the construction of Indo-Saracenic office buildings. "It would be a great advancement to true architecture," he wrote, "if there were a G.O. [Government Order] issued to make all European officials, located in Government buildings built in Hindu style, wear the turban in lieu of the hat, they would see how ludicrous they are in their present offices." A subsequent correspondent retorted, "Has not Mr. Pogson's heated imagination called forth also the terrible spectacle of natives working in buildings of his own particular Western style laboring in check inexpressibles, Pall Mall cravats, cuffs, collars, and the jaunty silk hat of civilization?" *Ibid.*, 20 September 1890, p. 229.

89. For Christ Church, see *Builder*, 28 May 1881, p. 666, and Clarke, *Anglican Cathedrals Outside the British Isles*, pp. 42-44. It is possible that further Indo-Saracenic-styled churches may exist. A thorough search of the major engineering journals, together with considerable touring in India, has revealed, however, no evidence of any.

Chapter 4

1. See Havell, *Indian Architecture*, pp. 216-19, 229; Nilsson, *European Architecture in India*, pp. 193-95; and Joshi, *Dig*. For discussion of these palaces, including those

of Dig and Jaipur, see G. H. R. Tillotson, *The Rajput Palaces: The Development of an Architectural Style, 1450-1750* (Oxford, 1987).

2. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture: The Islamic Period*, vol. 2 (Bombay, 1956), p. 118. The book was first published in 1942.

3. Rudyard Kipling, *From Sea to Sea*, part 1 (New York, 1906), p. 24. See also Gordon Sanderson, *Types of Modern Indian Buildings* (Allahabad, 1913), p. 15.

4. Kipling, *From Sea to Sea*, p. 13; Brown, *Indian Architecture*, pp. 118-19. Viollet-le-Duc (1814-79) was an architect and archeologist famous for his studies and restorations of medieval French buildings.

5. Kipling, *From Sea to Sea*, p. 24. By visiting these old forts the "wise man" could indeed better appreciate British rule, for he could there gain an understanding of the "riotous, sumptuous, murderous life" that rule had brought to an end. *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

6. Letter of 29 January 1887, *Pioneer*, Allahabad, 5 February 1887, pp. 4-5.

7. Nilsson, *European Architecture in India*, pp. 110, 164. See also George Michell, "Axial Planning in Towns in 18th and 19th Century Bengal," *Art and Archeology Research Papers*, no. 17 (March 1980), pp. 25-29.

8. See Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, *A Fatal Friendship*, esp. pp. 58-64, 146-47, and chap. 9; and Banmali Tandan, "The Architecture of the Nawabs of Awadh Between 1722 and 1856" (Ph.D. dissertation, Cambridge, 1978), pp. 353, 355.

9. A. Fuhrer, *The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh* (Allahabad, 1891; reprint, Varanasi, 1969), pp. 266-67. See also Llewellyn-Jones, *A Fatal Friendship*, chap. 12; and Brown, *Indian Architecture*, pp. 113-14. Vauxhall was a pleasure garden on the south bank of the Thames; as an epithet the term conveyed the sense that Lucknow was a city of illusion given over to amusement. The disdainful use of the term no doubt also connoted a class bias: that the English working classes, who resorted to such gardens, like the nawabs lacked a refined taste.

10. *Pioneer*, 5 February 1887, p. 4; *Builder*, 10 July 1875, p. 627; Maharaja of Baroda, *The Palaces of India* (London, 1980), pp. 112-13.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 130; Spiers, "The Late Major Mant," pp. 101-2.

12. R. F. Chisholm, "Baroda Palace: The Town Residence of H. H. Sir Syaji Rao," *JRIBA*, 3rd ser., 3 (1896): 421. The building was constructed of brick faced with red sandstone.

13. Spiers, "The Late Major Mant," p. 102.

14. Chisholm, "Baroda Palace," pp. 422, 424.

15. *Pioneer*, 5 February 1887, p. 5.

16. Spiers, "The Late Major Mant," p. 101; Chisholm, "Baroda Palace," p. 422. Chisholm praised Mant for a "masterly" layout that "exactly coincides with the typical plan," while the "opening out of the sides at once adds the external character which so many old Indian palaces lack."

17. Chisholm, "Baroda Palace," pp. 424, 426.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 424-26, 445. For his dislike of the use of "structurally false" marble ornamentation, see his "A New College for the Gaekwar of Baroda," pp. 142-43.

19. Chisholm, "Baroda Palace," p. 424. Chisholm also changed the pitch of the roof of the durbar hall to provide a large flat terrace for dancing (p. 423). As Mant had left no drawings for the finishing of the interior, Chisholm had of necessity to work out the whole of these details himself. His only rearrangement of the interior space was to add a European dining room. (See figure 31.)

20. Chisholm, "A New College for the Gaekwar of Baroda," p. 144, and figs. 157 and 166. He also altered the main dome of the palace on a similar model. See his "Baroda Palace," pp. 424, 445.

21. *Builder*, 11 May 1889, p. 351, and 21 September 1889, pp. 208-9. The structure as built was somewhat altered to include pavilions reminiscent of his Travancore museum design. See *Builder*, 10 September 1892, pp. 204-5.
22. *Building News*, 28 October 1881, p. 560.
23. Note by O. V. Bosanquet in "Budget Estimates of the Bikaner State for 1895-96," NAI Foreign Department, Internal A Proceedings, December 1895, no. 80-89.
24. *Pioneer*, 5 February 1887, pp. 4-5; Baroda, *The Palaces of India*, pp. 117, 124-25; *Builder*, 15 December 1883, p. 786, and 8 May 1914, p. 560. The Panna colonnade supplanted the usual acanthus vines on the Corinthian capitals with Indian lotus leaves.
25. *Building News*, 27 April 1894, p. 567; Baroda, *The Palaces of India*, pp. 195-96. For an amusing account of a prince's desire in the 1920s to build a "Greek villa" over the opposition of the local political agent, see J. R. Ackerley, *Hindoo Holiday* (Harmondsworth, 1983; first published 1932), pp. 58-60, 84-89.
26. *Indian Engineering*, 27 November 1897, p. 346, and 11 December 1897, p. 380. The building was opened by Curzon in 1899. For a critical description of the Laskhar post office, see Havell, *Indian Architecture*, pp. 238-39.
27. For Ganga Singh's life, see K. M. Pannikar, *H. H. Maharaja of Bikaner: A Biography* (Oxford, 1937).
28. Speech of 25 November 1902 in *Speeches by H. E. the Lord Curzon of Kedleston*, vol. 3 (1902-4), pp. 61-62.
29. Sanderson, *Types of Modern Indian Buildings*, p. 15. For a fuller discussion of the Bikaner fort, see Tillotson, *Rajput Palaces*, pp. 129-34.
30. Sanderson, *Types of Modern Indian Buildings*, p. 16; and Pannikar, *H. H. Maharaja of Bikaner*, p. 48.
31. *Bikaner State Administration Report for 1902-3* (Bikaner, 1903), p. 15; and office note of 4 October 1900 in NAI Foreign Department Internal A Proceedings, April 1901, no. 34-43.
32. Interview with Capt. Narain Singh, ADC to Ganga Singh, Bikaner, 5 November 1981. Detailed accounts of these later alterations and additions are to be found in the Ganga Singh papers stored at Lallgarh Palace.
33. See especially the accounts of the Silver (1912) and Golden (1937) Jubilee celebrations in the Ganga Singh papers, Lallgarh. For the British, of course, dinner parties were important ceremonial occasions, whereas for Indians dining was usually private and restricted by intricate pollution taboos. Princely accommodation of British dining patterns marked out therefore a major cultural innovation which, especially when set in the surroundings of the Indo-Saracenic palace, deserves fuller study on its own terms.
34. Ganga Singh, "Note on the Administration of the State from 1898-99," dated 30 October 1912, p. 21.
35. Speech by Ganga Singh of 26 November 1912, on the occasion of the opening of the park, in *Administration Report of Bikaner State for 1912-13* (Bikaner, 1913), pp. 4-6.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
37. Secretary to Government of India Foreign Department to AGG Rajputana, 27 January 1873, NAI PWD B & R Civil Building Proceedings, February 1873, no. 7-8. During that same year both Udaipur and Marwar authorized the executive engineer to undertake construction of their houses. See Commissioner Ajmer to AGG, 20 May 1873, Foreign Department General A Proceedings, June 1873, no. 130; and Political Agent Marwar to AGG, 23 May 1873, Foreign Department General A Proceedings, July 1873, no. 11.
38. For a detailed description of the houses, see Sherring, *The Mayo College: A Record of Twenty Years*, pp. 20, 36-51. Although built by the state, the Jaipur House

was designed by a European, W. F. deFabeck, who was in the maharaja's service. Although altered and added to, these boarding houses still provide an excellent study, on a small scale, of the forms of Indo-Saracenic design.

39. See, for instance, the files relating to the Kotah and Tonk residences in the Mayo College archives. The political agents in the states throughout played a central role in settling the design of these buildings and securing the ruler's approval.

40. *Indian Engineering*, 23 June 1894, p. 492, and 30 July 1894, p. 512.

41. "Design for the Maharao Rajah's Station at Ulwar," *Professional Papers on Indian Engineering*, 2nd ser., 3 (1875): 4-7. See also Havell, *Indian Architecture*, p. 239. For Canning College, see "Design for Canning College, Lucknow," *Professional Papers on Indian Engineering*, 2nd ser., 5 (1876): 397-402.

42. For a general account, see *Notes on Jaipur* (2nd ed., Jaipur, 1916), compiled by the resident, R. A. E. Benn, esp. chap. 5, together with the annual *Jeypore Public Works Reports*. The color washing was begun in 1868. For a brief discussion, see Yadvendra Sahai, "Pink City: Its Original Colour and Allied Problems," in V. S. Srivastava, ed., *Cultural Contours of India*, part 2 (Delhi, 1981), pp. 396-400.

43. *Jeypore Public Works Report for 1872-73* (Jaipur, 1873), p. 1; *Jeypore Public Works Report for 1873-74* (Jaipur, 1874), p. 1; *Jeypore Public Works Report for 1875-76* (Jaipur, 1876), p. 11.

44. *Jeypore Public Works Report for 1868* (Jaipur, 1869), p. 67. See also *Report on the Political Administration of Jeypore State for 1868-69*, by Major W. H. Benyon, political agent, pp. 19-21.

45. Jacob returned to England in 1912 and died in 1917. From 1902 to 1905 he was employed by the Indian government as consulting engineer for irrigation in Rajputana. His successor in Jaipur was his executive engineer, C. E. Stotherd, who had joined the state service in 1896.

46. Political Agent Jaipur to AGG Rajputana, 28 April 1873, NAI Foreign Department General B Proceedings, July 1873, no. 164-66. On this occasion the maharaja had sought to give Jacob a cash award of Rs. 5,000, which the government refused to let him accept despite the favorable recommendations of the local political agent and the agent to the governor-general. See Foreign Secretary to AGG, 16 July 1873, *ibid.* Jacob was created K.C.I.E. in 1902.

47. Note by A. V. Bosanquet of 26 February 1896, Foreign Department General A Proceedings, July 1896, no. 4-9. Until 1887 the Government of India bore the full cost of Jacob's pay and allowances in order to encourage the Jaipur maharaja to promote public works in his state. From 1888, though the maharaja paid Jacob's salary, he was still exempted from contributing to his pension and leave allowances. After his retirement in 1896 Jacob was allowed to retain his military pension while in the employ of the Jaipur state. Government of India to Secretary of State, 22 October 1888, Foreign Department General A Proceedings, November 1888, no. 86-87; and Government of India to Secretary of State, 2 June 1896, Foreign Department General A Proceedings, July 1896, no. 4-9.

48. "Papers Connected with Public Works in the Jeypore State, 1889," in Executive Engineer to Resident Jaipur, 1 August 1889, NAI PWD (General) A Proceedings, April 1890, Part B, no. 402-3.

49. *Jeypore Public Works Report for 1875-76*, pp. 2-3; *Jeypore Public Works Report for 1876-77*, p. 3; *Jeypore Public Works Report for 1877-78* (Jaipur, 1878), pp. 4-5; *Jeypore Public Works Report for 1878-79* (Jaipur, 1879), p. 7; *Jeypore Public Works Report for 1880-81* (Jaipur, 1881), p. 9.

50. For the church, see "Jeypore Church—Rajpootana," *Professional Papers on Indian Engineering* (1878), pp. 211-15.

51. *Jeypore Public Works Report for 1882-83* (Jaipur, 1883), pp. 18-20; *Jeypore*

Public Works Report for 1884 (Jaipur, 1884), p. 15; T. H. Hendley, "The Opening of the Albert Hall and Museum at Jeypore," *JIA*, no. 19 (1887): 21-23.

52. Hendley, p. 24; Kipling, *From Sea to Sea*, pp. 37-41. Kipling also called the Ram Nivas Gardens "finer than any in India and fit to rank with the best in Paris" (p. 36). For Jacob, Lutyens, and New Delhi, see chap. 7.

53. *Jeypore Public Works Report for 1871-72* (Jaipur, 1872), p. 6; *Jeypore Public Works Report for 1872-73*, p. 3; *Jeypore Public Works Report for 1873-74*, p. 2. Jacob was also given charge of the upkeep of the city wall.

54. *Jeypore Public Works Report for 1878-79*, p. 1.

55. *Jeypore Public Works Report for 1880-81*, p. 6.

56. *Jeypore Public Works Report for 1882-83*, p. 2; *Jeypore Public Works Report for 1886* (Jaipur, 1887), p. 2.

57. *Jeypore Public Works (Imarut) Report for 1886*, pp. 6-7.

58. Executive Engineer to Resident Jaipur, 1 August 1889, NAI PWD (General) Proceedings, April 1890, Part B, no. 402-3. In the late 1890s, however, several new irrigation and railway projects were begun, above all the large Ramgarh reservoir scheme, which occupied Jacob's last years in Jaipur and led the government to offer the generous financial terms for his retirement noted above.

59. Maharaja to Resident Jaipur, 5 March 1902, NAI Foreign Department Internal A Proceedings, April 1902, no. 188-94.

60. *Notes on Jaipur*, pp. 44-46; *Annual Report of the Imarat Department Jaipur State for 1909-10* (Jaipur, 1911), pp. 10-14. The Ram Bagh was subsequently used as a residence by Madho Singh's successor, Maharaja Man Singh, and then converted after independence into a luxury hotel.

61. Sanderson, *Types of Modern Indian Buildings*, pp. 17-18. The Mubarak Mahal design is commonly regarded in Jaipur as the work of Swinton Jacob.

62. Interviews with Mohan Singh, of an old Rajput noble family long resident in Jaipur, 28 February 1982, and with Yadendra Sahai, assistant director of the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh Museum, Jaipur, 1 March 1982. The building was also used for other public functions, such as meetings of the maharaja's Council of Ministers. It now houses the administrative offices of the maharaja's Museum.

63. Chisholm designed an Indo-Saracenic-styled cenotaph for an Indian prince, but the structure was never erected. *Builder*, 6 April 1889, p. 262. For a description of various religious and domestic buildings designed by local artisans, see Sanderson, *Types of Modern Indian Buildings*, pp. 7-20.

64. For a detailed description of the Bundi palace, which he called "such a Palace as men build for themselves in uneasy dreams—the work of goblins more than men," see Kipling, *From Sea to Sea*, pp. 192-205.

65. Political Agent Marwar to AGG Rajputana, 23 May 1873, NAI Foreign Department General Proceedings, July 1873, no. 10-15. Neither Jaisalmer nor Bundi ever erected a boarding house at the college.

Chapter 5

1. John Ruskin, *The Two Paths* (New York, 1859), pp. 13-14.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 25.

4. J. Forbes Royle, "The Arts and Manufactures of India," in *Lectures on the Results of the Exhibition* (London, 1852), p. 335.

5. Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament*, p. 77; Cole, *Catalogue*, p. 221.

6. For the East India Company's Museum, see Ray Desmond, *The India Museum 1801-1879* (London, 1982), esp. pp. 42-47.

7. *Ibid.*, chaps. 6, 10, 13, and passim.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 94-102.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 119-22. For the unbelieving response of an educated Indian to this photographic collection, see David Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation* (Princeton, 1978), pp. 3-6.

10. *Times*, 22 May 1886, p. 5.

11. *Art Journal*, n.s., 17 (1878): 65; "Paris International Exhibition," *ibid.*, pp. 113-14, 150, 213; George Birdwood, "Indian Pottery at the Paris Exhibition," *JSA* 27 (1879): 305-13; *Illustrated London News*, 2 March 1878, p. 201; 8 June 1878, p. 533; 13 July 1878, p. 42.

12. *JSA*, 4 March 1887, pp. 372-73; 17 April 1885, pp. 599-600.

13. For a comprehensive listing and illustration of the Indian displays, see *JIA*, no. 11 (1886): 77-84 et seq.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 79, 92.

15. *Pall Mall Gazette*, 4 May 1886, p. 3.

16. *Guide to the South Kensington Museum* (London, n.d.), pp. 63-66; *Builder*, 21 July 1883, p. 67.

17. John Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice* (1853), reprinted in E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, eds., *The Works of John Ruskin*, vol. 2 (New York, 1904), p. 196.

18. William Morris, *The Art of the People* (an address delivered before the Birmingham Society of Arts, 19 February 1879) (Chicago, 1902), pp. 29, 35-36.

19. William Morris, "The Revival of Architecture," in Nikolaus Pevsner, *Some Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1972), pp. 315-23.

20. Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice*, pp. 189-90, 196.

21. Morris, *The Art of the People*, pp. 19, 21.

22. *Builder*, 21 July 1883, p. 67.

23. Henry Maine, *Village Communities in the East and West* (London, 1871), pp. 55-58, 62, 103, 125, 175-76, and passim.

24. Birdwood comment on Purdon Clarke, "Some Notes upon the Domestic Architecture of India," *JSA* 32 (1883): 743-45.

25. Royle, "The Arts and Manufactures of India," pp. 333-35, 345-46, 395.

26. Birdwood, "Indian Pottery at the Paris Exhibition," pp. 309-10.

27. Morris, *The Art of the People*, p. 19.

28. George Birdwood, *The Industrial Arts of India* (London, 1880), pp. 136, 139-40.

29. Morris, *The Art of the People*, pp. 22-23. Although, as a socialist, Morris opposed the aggressive and militarist aspects of imperial expansion, which he saw as an element in the destructive growth of capitalism and commerce, where empire already existed, as in India, it could advance his "preservationist" objectives. Historians have generally failed to notice this latter, more sympathetic side in Morris's views of empire. See, for instance, E. P. Thompson, *William Morris* (London, 1955), pp. 296-305, 451-60.

30. One Victorian "pattern book" that did include Indian design elements was Owen Jones, *Grammar of Ornament*; it illustrated both what it styled as "Indian" and as

"Hindoo" designs. The arts and crafts movement appears to have been more deeply influenced by Far Eastern, especially Japanese, crafts, and in turn to have substantially influenced Japanese craftsmen. See, for instance, Brian Moeran, "William Morris and Yanagi Soetsu: Cultural Aesthetics and Folk Art," a paper presented to the A.N.U. conference on "Europe and the Exotic," Canberra, July 1987. The subject requires further study.

31. "Papers Relating to the Maintenance of Schools of Art in India as State Institutions," *Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Home Department*, no. 356 [hereafter *Selections*] (Calcutta, 1898), p. 62.

32. E. B. Havell, "Art Administration in India," *JRSA* 58 (1910): 276.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 275-76.

34. Chisholm comment on Cecil L. Burns, "The Function of Schools of Art in India," *JRSA* 57 (1909): 646.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 636. See also *Selections*, pp. 35-36.

36. Chisholm comment on Havell, "Art Administration in India," p. 289; and *Selections*, pp. 63-64.

37. For the school, see Latif, *Lahore: Its History, Architectural Remains, and Antiquities*, pp. 274, 304-6.

38. Letter to Sir George Birdwood, 1 May 1879, *JSA* 28 (1879): 727-28; the letter is reprinted in *JIA*, no. 65 (1900): 51-52.

39. For a discussion of Kipling's career, see Mahrugh Tarapor, "John Lockwood Kipling and British Art Education in India," *Victorian Studies* 24 (1980): 53-81.

40. "Introduction," *JIA*, no. 1 (1884): i.

41. For an account of the journal, see *Selections*, p. 20, and *JIA*, no. 135 (1916):

73. The government involvement with the journal decreased over time, so that it ultimately became wholly a private project of the publisher, William Griggs. For Griggs, see Desmond, *The India Museum*, pp. 122-28.

42. Report by T. H. Hendley, president of the Art Conference of 1894, *Selections*, p. 3. Buck himself cared little for art and devoted the bulk of his attention to agriculture.

43. J. L. Kipling, "The Brass and Copper Ware of the Punjab and Cashmere," *JIA*, no. 1 (1884): 7; George Birdwood comment on C. Purdon Clarke, "Modern Indian Art," *JSA* 38 (1890): 522; and Birdwood comment on Burns, "The Function of Schools of Art in India," p. 643.

44. Birdwood, "Collections of Indian Art in Marlborough House," *JIA*, no. 36 (1892): 25; and comment on Havell, "Art Administration in India," p. 288.

45. For the school, see Thakoor Futeh Singh Chanpawat, *A Brief History of Jeypore* (Agra, 1899), pp. 205, 225-26; and *Notes on Jaipur* (1916), pp. 32-34.

46. For the 1883 Exhibition, see T. H. Hendley, "Introduction," *JIA*, no. 2 (1884): i, and no. 5 (1885): 39.

47. "Stone Carving," *JIA*, no. 2 (1884): 9; and *Jeypore Public Works Department Report for 1871-72*, pp. 1, 4.

48. For princely patronage of Indo-Saracenic architecture, see chap. 4. For similar trends at the neighboring court of Alwar, see T. H. Hendley, *Uluwar and Its Art Treasures* (London, 1888), and the unpublished paper by Edward S. Haynes, "Patronage for the Arts and the Rajput State System: Alwar in the 18th, 19th, and 20th Centuries."

49. Burns, "The Function of Schools of Art in India," p. 631; Havell, "Art Administration in India," p. 275.

50. *Builder*, 22 March 1884, p. 395.

51. Birdwood comment on Havell, "Art Administration in India," pp. 286-87.

52. *Ibid.*, pp. 289-90. In the 1910 discussion Chisholm and Hendley, while less outspoken, agreed with Birdwood that Indian art was "not what would be called fine art, as fine art was known to Europe" (*ibid.*, pp. 289, 295-96). Havell by contrast encouraged painting in an Indian style in the Calcutta School and insisted that all Indian art must be treated as an integral whole (*ibid.*, pp. 275-76). For an account of the controversy stirred up by Birdwood's remark, see Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, pp. 1-12.

53. *JSA* (1887), p. 205; Birdwood, *Industrial Arts of India*, pp. 125, 140; and Cole, *Catalogue*, pp. 15-16.

54. Birdwood, *Industrial Arts of India*, p. 126; and Cole, *Catalogue*, p. 60. For Fergusson's use of the racial theories of Aryan and Turanian to explain India's architectural development, see chap. 2.

55. Fergusson, "On the Study of Indian Architecture," pp. 75-76.

56. Havell, *Essays on Indian Art, Industry, and Education* (Madras, n.d., c. 1912), p. 101; and Havell, *Indian Architecture*, pp. 219-20, 228-29. See also his discussion of the temples of Brindaban, pp. 232-33. By the early twentieth century British critics, drawn to the notion of a "spiritual" India, were more willing than their Victorian predecessors to find merit in the Hindu temple as well as in the country's domestic architecture.

57. Sanderson, *Types of Modern Indian Buildings*, esp. pp. 20-22.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

59. J. L. Kipling, "Indian Architecture of Today," *JIA*, no. 3 (1884): 4.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

61. F. S. Growse, *Indian Architecture of Today: As Exemplified in New Buildings in the Bulandshahr District*, part 2 (Benares, 1886), p. iii.

62. Havell, *Indian Architecture*, p. 222.

63. F. S. Growse, *Bulandshahr: Or Sketches of an Indian District* [part 1] (Benares, 1884), pp. 55, 61.

64. Kipling, "Indian Architecture of Today," p. 2.

65. Growse, *Bulandshahr* [part 1], pp. 55-56, 61-62, and part 2, p. i. For a fuller account, see Mahrugh Tarapor, "Growse in Bulandshahr," *Architectural Review* 172 (September 1982): 44-52.

66. Growse, *Bulandshahr* [part 1], pp. 62, 71-73, and part 2, plate 22.

67. *Ibid.* [part 1], pp. 64-66.

68. *Ibid.* [part 1], p. 70, and part 2, plate 15; "The Art of Tar-Kashi or Wire Inlay," *JIA*, no. 22 (1888): 55.

69. C. Purdon Clarke, "Street Architecture of India," *JSA* 32 (1884): 782.

70. Growse, *Bulandshahr*, part 2, p. iii.

71. For Growse's antagonism toward, and quarrels with, the PWD, see his *Bulandshahr* [part 1], pp. 11-14, 20-22, and part 2, appendix, pp. 1-11. His transfer from Bulandshahr was, however, in the end provoked by a dispute over tenant rights in the countryside.

72. Growse, *Mathura*, pp. 162, 415.

73. Growse, *Bulandshahr* [part 1], pp. 70, 84-88, and part 2, plate 15.

74. *Ibid.* [part 1], pp. 59-60, and part 2, p. i.

75. *Ibid.* [part 1], p. 59, and part 2, p. ii.

76. *Ibid.* [part 1], pp. 56-58. See, for instance, the reproduced designs of the Gualathi and Jahangirabad houses.

77. *Ibid.* [part 1], pp. 54-55, and part 2, plate 32.

78. Kipling, "Indian Architecture of Today," p. 2.

79. Growse, *Bulandshahr* [part 1], pp. 58, 62-63, and part 2, plate 23.
80. Clarke, "Street Architecture in India," p. 782.
81. "Rajputana Court Screens," *JIA*, no. 12 (1886): 86-87.
82. Growse, *Bulandshahr*, part 2, p. iv, and plate 32.
83. *Ibid.*, plate 28. Clarke praised Growse for his knowledge of the "modern Mogul style" and commented that "his buildings would, if gathered together, form a second Futtipoor-Seekree." See his "Street Architecture in India," p. 782, and "Examples of Moghul Art in the India Museum," pp. 129-30. For Clarke's concern with domestic architecture, see his "Some Notes upon the Domestic Architecture of India," *JSA* (1883), pp. 731-40.
84. Havell, *Indian Architecture*, pp. 230-31.
85. *Pioneer*, 5 February 1887, p. 5. Griffin did, however, work closely with the crafts enthusiasts in collecting material for the 1886 Exhibition.
86. Sanderson, *Types of Modern Indian Buildings*, pp. 20-21.
87. The same problems arose, of course, with the Indian princes as they endeavored in their palace architecture to define themselves to some extent as a "modern" elite. For a discussion of the ambivalent, and sexually charged, British attitude to "Eurasians," see Kenneth Ballhatchet, *Race, Sex, and Class Under the Raj* (London, 1980), esp. chap. 4.

Chapter 6

1. Lutyens to Baker, 15 February 1903, quoted in Christopher Hussey, *Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens* [hereafter *Lutyens*] (London, 1950), p. 121.
2. Alastair Service, *Edwardian Architecture and Its Origins* (London, 1975), p. 6. A similar classical revival, precipitated by the Chicago Exhibition, took place in the United States, under the leadership especially of Forbes Burnham. Prominent among its achievements were the 1902 replanning of Washington and the schemes for an imperial architecture in the Philippines. See, e.g., Thomas S. Hines, *Burnham of Chicago* (Chicago, 1979).
3. For general discussion, see Raymond F. Betts, "The Allusion to Rome in British Imperialist Thought of the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *Victorian Studies* 15 (1971): 149-59. Betts maintains that classical allusions did not evoke any widespread popular interest outside the "intellectual community." The subject requires further investigation as part of the current study of imperialism and popular culture.
4. Lutyens to Baker, 15 February 1903, *Lutyens*, p. 121.
5. Service, *Edwardian Architecture*, p. 6. See also pp. 303-4.
6. For discussion of this project, see Elizabeth and Michael Darby, "The Nation's Memorial to Victoria," *Country Life*, 16 November 1978, pp. 1647-50.
7. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 1647. For a favorable account of the reconstruction of Berlin, see Charles Goulay, "Notes on the Architecture of Berlin," *JRIBA* 12 (1905): 281-90.
8. *Builder*, 5 January 1912, pp. 11-13.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 11. In the Mall reconstruction scheme heated debate over whether London's ratepayers or the imperial government should pay forced a reduction in the scale of the project at the Palace end.
10. For accounts of the reconstruction era, see, among others, D. Denoon, *A Grand Illusion: The Failure of Imperial Policy in the Transvaal, 1900-05* (London, 1973), and Shula Marks and Stanley Trapido, "Lord Milner and the South African State," *History Workshop*, no. 8 (Autumn 1979), pp. 50-80.

11. Herbert Baker, *Architecture and Personalities*, p. 23.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 23. The volume was Alys Fane Trotter, *Old Colonial Houses in the Cape of Good Hope* (London, 1900).
13. *Building News*, 16 February 1900, p. 229.
14. Baker, *Architecture and Personalities*, pp. 30-31. See also Herbert Baker, *Cecil Rhodes by His Architect* (London, 1934), pp. 20-26; and, for early plans and photographs, *Builder*, 24 March 1900, p. 294.
15. Baker, *Architecture and Personalities*, pp. 27, 32-35. See also Rudyard Kipling, *Something of Myself* (New York, 1977), pp. 125-31.
16. Baker, *Cecil Rhodes by His Architect*, p. 175. For Baker's views of Rhodes's idealism, see pp. 91-93, 105-6, 148-52, and *passim*; for the Jameson Raid, when Rhodes tried unsuccessfully to overthrow the Kruger government in the Transvaal, pp. 166, 172.
17. Baker, *Architecture and Personalities*, p. 35; Baker, *Cecil Rhodes by His Architect*, pp. 10, 15.
18. For Baker's tour, see Doreen Greig, *Herbert Baker in South Africa* (Cape Town, 1970), chap. 6. This volume contains the only full account of his work in South Africa. See also "Sir Herbert Baker in Memoriam," *South African Architectural Record*, July 1946, pp. 161-79, esp. pp. 168, 174-75.
19. For a description, see Greig, *Herbert Baker in South Africa*, pp. 108-11.
20. For a description, see Baker, *Architecture and Personalities*, pp. 39-40, and Baker, *Cecil Rhodes by His Architect*, pp. 127-31.
21. Masey to Baker, 19 August 1905, and Memos of Curzon and Baker, n.d., c. June 1909, in Fleming Papers, University of Cape Town [hereafter UCT] Archives File BC605.
22. John M. Swan to Rhodes Memorial Committee, 22 October 1907, in *ibid.*
23. Baker to Rhodes Memorial Committee, 13 June 1907, and to Masey, 24 June, 2 July, and 15 July 1907, Masey Papers, UCT Archives File BC206; and to Rhodes Memorial Committee, 12 January 1912, File BC605. Italics in original.
24. Lutyens to Baker, 26 October 1904 and 10 May 1908, Baker Papers RIBA Archives, BaH1/1/4; and Baker, *Architecture and Personalities*, pp. 40-41. Italics in original.
25. Baker, *Architecture and Personalities*, pp. 47, 49-50. For an account of these men and their work, see Walter Nimocks, *Milner's Young Men: The "Kindergarten" in Edwardian Imperial Affairs* (Durham, N.C., 1968).
26. Baker, *Architecture and Personalities*, pp. 49-50.
27. Greig, *Herbert Baker in South Africa*, chaps. 8 and 9, esp. pp. 121, 132-40.
28. Baker, "The Architectural Needs of South Africa," *State* 1 (1909): 512-24.
29. For brief discussion and appraisal of the architecture of the Union Buildings, see Greig, *Herbert Baker in South Africa*, chap. 11; and Marcus Binney, "Attributes of the Eternal," *Country Life*, 25 February 1982, pp. 466-68.
30. Louis Botha, Prime Minister Transvaal, to other colonial governments, 21 October 1909, Transvaal Archives Depot [TAD], PWD File 5269, vol. 1677.31. Baker to Lutyens, 24 June 1909, RIBA Archives, Lutyens Papers LuE/32/27/1.
31. See Greig, *Herbert Baker in South Africa*, chap. 10, esp. p. 172.
32. Baker to E. P. Solomon, Minister for Public Works, 3 June 1909; and Baker to General Botha, 26 June 1909, TAD PWD File 5269, vol. 1677.
33. *Ibid.* See also Baker, *Architecture and Personalities*, p. 58.
34. Baker to Secretary PWD, 25 September 1909, TAD PWD File 5269, vol. 1677; Baker to Lutyens, 24 June 1909, Lutyens Papers LuE/32/27/1; and 21 October 1909,

LuE/32/27/2. In his autobiography Baker denied “rumours” that he had “designed” a Parliament House on the ridge, and insisted that he “favoured” the dual capital (*Architecture and Personalities*, p. 60). Although he may not have “designed” a building, he clearly anticipated placement of the legislature in Pretoria and included sketch designs for it within his overall plan.

36. Baker to Botha, 26 June 1909, TAD PWD File 5269, vol. 1677; and *Architecture and Personalities*, p. 58.

37. Baker to Lutyens, 4 December 1909, LuE/32/27/3. See also, for Botha’s eagerness to commence the work, *Architecture and Personalities*, p. 59.

38. Botha to other colonial governments, 21 October 1909; Secretary PWD to Baker, n.d., c. November 1909; and “Report on Designs for Union Buildings” by deZwaan and Eagle, November 1909, TAD PWD File 5269, vol. 1677.

39. Baker to Minister for Public Works, 1 December 1909, TAD PWD File 5269, vol. 1678, part 5; and Baker to Lutyens, 23 December 1909, LuE/32/27/4.

40. The cost of the project was £958,000, of which Transvaal contributed £377,000; the work was completed in 1913. Two local contractors, M. C. A. Meischke and the firm of Prentice & Mackie, shared the work. For an account of the buildings while under construction, see “Architects’ Visit to Union Buildings,” *African Architect* 2 (June 1912): 6–11.

41. Baker to Secretary PWD, 25 September 1909, TAD PWD File 5269, vol. 1677; and Baker to Smuts, 23 March 1911, TAD Smuts Papers, Private Letters, vol. 9, no. 1.

42. Letter to the *Times* (London), 3 October 1912, pp. 7–8. This letter was solicited by the editor of the *Times* to secure Baker’s views on “the principles of architecture which should be applied to the building of the new Delhi.” See Geoffrey Robinson to Baker, 5 June 1912, UCT Archives, Fleming Collection BC605. The letter is reprinted in *Architecture and Personalities*, pp. 218–22. For further discussion of Baker and his work in New Delhi, see chap. 7.

43. On Washington, see Baker, “The Architectural Needs of South Africa,” pp. 520, 524; also Baker to Lutyens, 21 October 1909, LuE/32/27/2. For discussion of the site, see Greig, *Herbert Baker in South Africa*, pp. 176–80.

44. Baker, *Architecture and Personalities*, p. 60.

45. Baker to Secretary PWD, 25 September 1909, TAD PWD File 5269, vol. 1677.

46. Baker, *Architecture and Personalities*, pp. 59–60.

47. On the work of the Round Table, see Nimocks, *Milner’s Young Men*, chaps. 9–12, pp. 138–219.

48. Paper on “Architecture and Empire,” quoted in Robert Irving, *Indian Summer* (Yale, 1981), p. 278; Baker to Lutyens, n.d., c. March 1910, LuE/32/27/5; and “The Architectural Needs of South Africa,” pp. 521–22. Throughout his work Baker was deeply concerned with the adaptation of architecture to climate.

49. Baker, *Architecture and Personalities*, p. 61.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

51. *Ibid.*, pp. 58–59; Baker to Lutyens, 15 July 1910, LuE/32/27/6; and Baker to Smuts, 23 March 1911, Smuts Papers, Private Letters, vol. 9, no. 1. As prime minister, Botha appears to have accepted, though never to have been caught up by, Baker’s views. His overriding concern, as we have seen, was to complete the building during the term of his government.

52. See, e.g., Baker to Murray, 8 March 1910, TAD PWD File 5269, vol. 1677, part 4; and Baker to Lutyens, c. September 1912, quoted in Hussey, *Lutyens*, p. 270. Baker

was unhappy at being excluded in 1916 from the commission to design the new University of Cape Town adjacent to the Rhodes Memorial on Table Mountain. As a way to soothe his “ruffled” feelings he secured appointment as “consulting architect” on the project, only to complain later that “neither the committee nor the architect [J. M. Solomon] have sent me a word.” See, e.g., Baker to Patrick Duncan, 23 April 1916, UCT Archives Duncan Papers BC294 D11.1.7; and Baker to Duncan, 26 October 1918, D.11.2.9.

53. Baker, *Architecture and Personalities*, pp. 60–61, 90. Baker was never reconciled to South Africa’s unwillingness to put up a war memorial in Pretoria. He also endeavored, with equal lack of success, to induce the South African government to place a bust of Jameson next to that of Rhodes in the Rhodes Memorial, and a statue of Milner in the colonnade of the Union Buildings. See, e.g., his letters to Duncan of 1 February 1918, Duncan Papers BC294 D11.2.4; 6 February 1918, D11.2.5; 24 March 1923, D11.2.23; and 21 January 1926, F31.14.

54. “De Volkstem” (Pretoria) of 29 March 1910, translation enclosed, with extracts from various newspapers discussing the Union Buildings, in PWD File 5269, vol. 1677, part 4.

55. For Curzon’s views on imperial governance, see the volume of his collected speeches in *Lord Curzon in India*, ed. Thomas Raleigh (London, 1906), esp. pp. 4–5, 564–68, 589, and passim. See also *Speeches on India Delivered by Lord Curzon of Kedleston While in England* (London, 1904), especially the speech on the Presentation of the Freedom of the City of London, 20 July 1904, pp. 1–21.

56. For government building, see, for the years after 1907, the annual *Reports on Architectural Work in India*.

57. See, e.g., Speeches to the Brindaban Municipality, 5 December 1899, in *Speeches by H. E. the Lord Curzon of Kedleston*, vol. 1, p. 183, IOR Curzon Papers MSS Eur. F.111/559; to Asiatic Society of Bengal, 7 February 1900, *Lord Curzon in India*, pp. 182–94; and to Legislative Council, 18 March 1904, *ibid.*, pp. 195–203.

58. Speech to Amritsar Municipality, 9 April 1900, *Speeches by H. E. the Lord Curzon of Kedleston*, vol. 1, p. 328.

59. Speech on Opening of Indian Art Exhibition, 30 December 1902, *Lord Curzon in India*, pp. 204–8; and *Official Catalogue of the Indian Art Exhibition, Delhi* (Calcutta, 1903), esp. p. 1.

60. *Official Catalogue of the Indian Art Exhibition*, p. 3; Speech on Opening of Art Exhibition, *Lord Curzon in India*, p. 208; and Speech at State Banquet at Jaipur, 28 November 1902, *ibid.*, pp. 222–24.

61. Speech on Opening of Victoria College, Gwalior, 30 November 1899, *Speeches by H. E. the Lord Curzon of Kedleston*, vol. 1, p. 174.

62. Minute by Curzon of 11 May 1902, and Supplementary Minute of 21 October 1902, IOR Curzon Papers MSS Eur. F.111/274. For an account of the 1877 Imperial Assemblage, see Cohn, “Representing Authority in Victorian India,” in Hobsbawm and Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition*, pp. 165–209.

63. Minute of 11 May 1902; and “The Delhi Durbar: A Retrospect,” *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine* 173 (March 1903): 317–18.

64. Speech at State Banquet at Jaipur, *Lord Curzon in India*, p. 225. For the princes’ patronage of Indo-Saracenic architecture, see chap. 4 in this volume. For an account of the significance of durbar ritual, see Cohn, “Representing Authority in Victorian India,” in Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, esp. pp. 198, 208.

65. Speech at Public Meeting, Calcutta, 6 February 1901, *Lord Curzon in India*,

pp. 517-26, esp. p. 521; Speech to Asiatic Society of Bengal, 26 February 1901, *ibid.*, p. 530; and "Appended Note by the Viceroy on Reasons Against Selection of Delhi," *Journal of the Queen Victoria Memorial Fund*, no. 1 (April 1901): 24-26.

66. Speech to Asiatic Society of Bengal, 26 February 1901, *Journal of the Queen Victoria Memorial Fund*, 1901, pp. 36-48. The version of the speech printed in *Lord Curzon in India* (p. 534) omits the reference to the rani of Jhansi, who fought on the rebel side in the 1857 revolt. In a private letter Curzon indicated his willingness also to honor the "fighting Begum of Lucknow," who led the siege of the residency in 1857. See Curzon to A. Macdonnell, 16 February 1901, IOR MSS Eur. F.111/454, part 2, p. 20a.

67. J. Woodburn to Curzon, 30 January 1901, IOR MSS Eur. F.111/454, part 1, p. 1; A. C. Lyall to Curzon, 3 May 1901, *ibid.*, pp. 139-40; and Curzon to Lyall, 22 May 1901, *ibid.*, part 2, p. 53.

68. "Note by H. E. the Viceroy on the Present State of Affairs with regard to the Victoria Memorial Hall," enclosure in Curzon to Esher, 6 February 1902, *ibid.*, part 2, p. 70; and Curzon, *British Government in India*, p. 189.

69. Curzon to Emerson, 22 August 1901, IOR MSS Eur. F.111/454, part 1, p. 61; Macdonnell to Curzon, 15 February 1901, *ibid.*, part 2, p. 17; Ampthill to Curzon, 16 February 1901, *ibid.*, p. 31; and Havell to Curzon, 1 March 1901, *ibid.*, p. 76f.

70. Curzon Speech to Asiatic Society of Bengal, 26 February 1901, *Lord Curzon in India*, p. 532; "Note by H. E. the Viceroy on the Present State of Affairs with regard to the Victoria Memorial Hall," IOR MSS Eur. F.111/454, part 2, pp. 73-74; Esher to Curzon, 19 September 1901 and 2 December 1901, *ibid.*, part 1, pp. 176a, 180a; and Curzon to Esher, 12 April 1901, 12 June 1901, and 6 February 1902, *ibid.*, part 2, pp. 43, 55, 67.

71. Emerson Speech of 3 March 1904, *Journal of the Queen Victoria Memorial Fund*, no. 2 (March 1904): 13.

72. "Note by H. E. the Viceroy on the Present State of Affairs with regard to the Victoria Memorial Hall," IOR MSS Eur. F.111/454, part 2, pp. 71-72, 75-77. The portion of the "Note" describing the Memorial is reprinted in Curzon, *British Government in India*, pp. 191-93. For the changes of the site, see *ibid.*, p. 188.

73. Emerson Speech of 3 March 1904, *Journal of the Queen Victoria Memorial Fund* (1904), pp. 13-14; and Emerson to Curzon, 30 June 1903, IOR MSS Eur. F.111/454, part 1, pp. 276b-276c.

74. Curzon to Emerson, 16 August 1902, 3 September 1903 and 10 September 1903, *ibid.*, part 2, pp. 105, 160, 168; and Emerson to Curzon, 2 October 1903, *ibid.*, part 1, p. 349.

75. "Note by H. E. the Viceroy on the Present State of Affairs with regard to the Victoria Memorial Hall," *ibid.*, part 2, p. 70; and Curzon to Emerson, 3 September 1903, *ibid.*, pp. 160-61.

76. See Curzon to Emerson, 10 September 1903, *ibid.*, pp. 170-71; and Curzon, *British Government in India*, pp. 190-91.

77. Emerson to Curzon, 30 June 1903, IOR MSS Eur. F.111/454, part 1, pp. 276d-276e, 276j-277. In addition to the sculptures noted, Emerson proposed that statues be set around the dome to represent eight of Britain's principal colonies, and figures on the sides of the porches to represent the major Indian seaports.

78. Curzon to Emerson, 3 September 1903, *ibid.*, part 2, pp. 163-65.

79. Emerson to Curzon, 2 October 1903, *ibid.*, part 1, p. 348; and Curzon, *British Government in India*, p. 200.

80. Speech to Asiatic Society of Bengal, 26 February 1901, *Lord Curzon in India*, pp. 530, 547; and Curzon, *British Government in India*, pp. 179, 200.

81. For the statuary in the Memorial, see *A Brief Guide to the Victoria Memorial* (Calcutta, 1967), and *Descriptive Catalogue of Busts and Statuary in the Victoria Memorial* (Calcutta, 1978).

82. A. C. Lyall to Curzon, 3 May 1901, IOR MSS Eur. F.111/454, part 1, p. 139.

Chapter 7

1. Hardinge to Crewe, 25 August 1911, and Crewe to Hardinge, 1 November 1911, in Hardinge Papers, vol. 113, quoted in Irving, *Indian Summer*, pp. 27, 29.

2. [Government of India], *The Historical Record of the Imperial Visit to India*, 1911 (London, 1914), p. 211.

3. *Times*, 22 December 1911, p. 5.

4. *Times*, 8 October 1912, p. 5; and E. B. Havell, "The Building of the New Delhi," *JEIA*, n.s., 4 (1913): 1-30, esp. pp. 5, 13.

5. E. B. Havell, "The Message of Hope for India," *Nineteenth Century* 122 (December 1912): 1274-82. See also, for a fuller account of Havell's views on art and culture, his earlier writings collected and published as *Essays on Indian Art, Industry, and Education*.

6. Havell, "The Building of the New Delhi," pp. 14, 16-17.

7. Sanderson, *Types of Modern Indian Buildings*, pp. 2, 6, 20-22, and appendix p. 2A. For discussion of the extent and nature of crafts building in India, see chap. 5.

8. Petition of 6 February 1913, printed in Havell, *Indian Architecture*, pp. 252-54.

9. Sanderson, *Types of Modern Indian Buildings*, p. 5.

10. F. O. Oertel, "Indian Architecture and Its Suitability for Modern Requirements," *JEIA*, n.s., 4 (1913): 274-304, esp. pp. 282-83.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 279-80, 286-88.

12. Oertel to Curzon, 15 June 1913, in Curzon Papers IOR MSS Eur. F.111/434; Havell, "The Building of the New Delhi," pp. 6, 16, and Chisholm comment, pp. 25-26; Havell, *Indian Architecture*, 2nd ed. (London, 1927), p. 260; and Oertel, "Indian Architecture and Its Suitability for Modern Requirements," pp. 288-91, and Hendley comment, p. 296.

13. Oertel, "Indian Architecture and Its Suitability for Modern Requirements," pp. 288-89, 299; Havell, *Indian Architecture*, p. 247.

14. Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, pp. 3-4; P. Chandra, *On the Study of Indian Art*, pp. 93-94; Oertel, "Indian Architecture and Its Suitability for Modern Requirements," p. 283; *Times*, 28 February 1910, p. 6.

15. Havell, "The Building of the New Delhi," pp. 14-15; Havell, *Indian Architecture*, pp. 242-44.

16. Lutyens to Baker, 8 May 1912, RIBA Baker Papers BaH/1/6/8; *Times*, 7 October 1912, p. 6; Hardinge to Curzon, 22 October 1912 and 30 October 1912, Curzon Papers IOR MSS Eur. F.111/434B.

17. Hardinge to V. Chirrol, 28 February 1912, Hardinge Papers, vol. 110, p. 105; Hardinge to Lutyens, 19 August 1912, *ibid.*, vol. 111, p. 26; Hardinge to Curzon, 30 October 1912, Curzon Papers IOR MSS Eur. F.111/434B.

18. Hardinge to Curzon, 22 October 1912, Curzon Papers IOR MSS Eur. F.111/434B; Hardinge to Lutyens, 19 August 1912, Hardinge Papers, vol. 111, p. 26; Hardinge to Malcolm Hailey, 6 September 1913, *ibid.*, vol. 112, p. 98.

19. Hardinge to Chirrol, 28 February 1912, Hardinge Papers, vol. 110, p. 105; Hardinge to Swinton Jacob, 18 March 1913, *ibid.*, vol. 111, p. 334.

20. Hardinge to Lutyens, 27 August 1912, *ibid.*, vol. 111, p. 36. See also Hardinge to Sec. of State, 11 July 1912, *ibid.*, vol. 110, p. 189, and to George Swinton, 25 November 1912, *ibid.*, vol. 111, p. 128.

21. Hardinge to Lutyens, 28 March 1913, *ibid.*, vol. 111, p. 350; Hardinge to Baker, 30 August 1913, *ibid.*, vol. 112, p. 95.

22. Robinson to Baker, 5 June 1912, UCT Archives Fleming Collection BC605. This letter was in response to a memo sent to the *Times* with regard to the opening of the Rhodes Memorial, Cape Town. Baker's letter to the *Times* (3 October 1912, pp. 7-8) was reprinted in Baker, *Architecture and Personalities*, pp. 218-22. Citations are to the reprinted edition.

23. Swinton to Hardinge, 3 October 1912, Hardinge Papers, vol. 111, p. 96; Swinton to Hardinge, 10 October 1912, *ibid.*, p. 106; Gladstone to Crewe, 17 October 1912, *ibid.*, p. 112.

24. For discussion of the planning and layout of New Delhi, see Anthony King, *Colonial Urban Development*, chap. 8; and Irving, *Indian Summer*, chap. 4.

25. Baker, *Architecture and Personalities*, p. 220.

26. Hussey, *Lutyens*, p. 247; Baker, *Architecture and Personalities*, p. 221.

27. Baker, *Architecture and Personalities*, pp. 218-19. See also Baker to Hardinge, 6 August 1913, Hardinge Papers, vol. 112, p. 71.

28. Baker to Hardinge, 25 July 1913, *ibid.*, p. 60; Baker, *Architecture and Personalities*, pp. 69-70, 221; Baker, "The New Delhi," *JRSA* 74 (1926): 785.

29. Baker to Hardinge, 21 March 1913, Hardinge Papers, vol. 111, p. 338; Baker to Hardinge, 25 July 1913, *ibid.*, vol. 112, p. 60.

30. Baker, "The New Delhi," pp. 784-85; *Architecture and Personalities*, pp. 70-71.

31. Baker to Hardinge, 25 July 1913, Hardinge Papers, vol. 112, p. 60; Note by Hardinge, 13 January 1913, *ibid.*, vol. 111, p. 155. Jacob resigned from this position in August 1913.

32. Hardinge to Lutyens, 4 August 1913, Hardinge Papers, vol. 112, p. 68a.

33. Lutyens to Hardinge, 12 September 1913, *ibid.*, p. 101; Baker, *Architecture and Personalities*, pp. 71-73; Hardinge to C. Villiers-Stuart, 24 May 1914, Hardinge Papers, vol. 112, p. 277.

34. Baker, *Architecture and Personalities*, pp. 68-69, 219-20; Baker comment on H. V. Lanchester, "Architecture and Architects in India," *JRIBA* 30 (1923): 304.

35. Baker, "The New Delhi," p. 784.

36. Hussey, *Lutyens*, pp. 277-78.

37. Lutyens to his wife, 16 December 1912, *ibid.*, p. 279, and RIBA LuE 13/4/6.

38. Lutyens to Baker, 29 December 1912, RIBA BaH/1/7/6; Lutyens to his wife, 20 April 1912, RIBA LuE/12/8/6; 17 December 1912, LuE/13/4/6; and 23 April 1920, LuE/17/11/4.

39. Lutyens to Baker, 19 December 1912, RIBA BaH/1/7/5; Lutyens to his wife, 26 December 1912, LuE13/4/8; Lutyens to Baker, 14 August 1913, BaH/1/8/3.

40. Hussey, *Lutyens*, pp. 134-35. See also p. 209.

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 280-81; Lutyens to his wife, 17 December 1912, LuE/13/4/6.

42. Hussey, *Lutyens*, pp. 280, 296.

43. Baker, "The New Delhi," pp. 778-80; Baker, *Architecture and Personalities*, pp. 58, 67. For a full account of the "gradient" controversy, see Irving, *Indian Summer*, chap. 7.

44. Baker, *Architecture and Personalities*, p. 68; Lutyens to his wife, 13 January 1920, LuE/17/8/2. The *Round Table* was the journal devoted to discussion of empire

founded by Baker's "kindergarten" friends after their return to England from South Africa.

45. Hussey, *Lutyens*, p. 255; Lutyens to his wife, 14 April 1912, LuE/12/8/3.

46. Hussey, *Lutyens*, pp. 280-81.

47. Percy Brown to Col. F. Maxwell, 9 October 1912, Hardinge Papers, vol. 111, pp. 103-4; Lutyens to Lady Hardinge, 25 July 1913, *ibid.*, vol. 112, p. 60a; Hardinge to M. Hailey, 18 August 1913, *ibid.*, p. 78; Hardinge to Hailey, 22 August 1913, *ibid.*, p. 90; Baker to Hardinge, 7 October 1915, *ibid.*, p. 439; Baker, "The New Delhi," pp. 785-86.

48. Lutyens to Hardinge, 20 September 1912, Hardinge Papers, vol. 111, p. 84; *Builder*, 20 June 1913, p. 700; *Times*, 7 October 1912, p. 6.

49. Note by Hardinge of 13 January 1913, Hardinge Papers, vol. 111, p. 155.

50. Accounts of the architecture of the Viceroy's House are numerous. See, e.g., Hussey, *Lutyens*, pp. 297 ff.; Irving, *Indian Summer*, chap. 8; and Robert Byron, "The Architecture of the Viceroy's House," *Country Life*, June 1931, pp. 708-16. Byron argued that while Lutyens had achieved in the Viceroy's House "a real fusion of national motives into a pure and highly individual style," Baker in his work had adopted Indic elements wholesale as "literal transcriptions from the past." See "The Architecture of Sir Herbert Baker," *Country Life*, July 1931, p. 18.

51. Lutyens to his wife, 29 December 1912, RIBA LuE/13/4/10; and 10 February 1914, LuE/14/2/3.

52. Hussey, *Lutyens*, p. 247.

Chapter 8

1. *Parliamentary Debates, Lords*, 5th ser., vol. 11 (21 February 1912), cols. 157-62. See also Curzon, *British Government in India*, p. 181.

2. For the "invention" of the British monarchy in the later nineteenth century, see David Cannadine, "The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the Invention of Tradition, c. 1820-1977," in Hobsbawm and Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition*, pp. 101-64.

3. *Builder*, 3 November 1888, p. 313. Of Fergusson's enthusiasm for Indian architecture, the *Builder* said only that "you may learn to like anything if you try hard enough" (*ibid.*). For a full account of Fergusson's aesthetic system, see his *An Historical Inquiry into the True Principles of Beauty in Art, More Especially with Reference to Architecture* (London, 1849). For a similar system of ranking applied to political organization, see John Stuart Mill, *Representative Government* (1861).

4. Birdwood comment on C. Purdon Clarke, "Some Notes Upon the Domestic Architecture of India," p. 746. For the confusion of "Saracenic" and "Gothic," see the *Oxford English Dictionary*, vol. 9, pp. 106-7. In similar fashion, as we have seen, English crafts designers made little effort to incorporate Indian elements into their work, or to decorate homes with Indian-styled furnishings.

5. *Building News*, 15 July 1910, p. 79. See also Desmond, *The India Museum*, pp. 203-4. Birdwood was among those who opposed the scheme. Outside India the British erected a substantial number of Indo-Saracenic-styled buildings only in Malaya, where the domes and spires of this architecture shaped the appearance of Penang and the capital city of Kuala Lumpur. As Malaya had itself little tradition of large-scale building and was the focus of substantial Indian immigration, it is not surprising that the British

decided to represent their empire there by the use of Indian forms. Malayan colonial architecture, together with that of Burma and Ceylon (Sri Lanka), requires further study.

6. For further discussion of the use of Indic styles in exhibition buildings and theaters, see Head, *The Indian Style*, chaps. 6 and 7. "Oriental" cinemas of extravagant design were more numerous in the United States than in Britain. This may reflect the fact that for Americans India was always a distant and exotic land, while for the British the close imperial connection may have tempered the creation of such fantasies.

7. *Builder*, 3 November 1888, p. 314.

8. Baker, *Architecture and Personalities*, pp. 63, 107-10. The persisting tension between the use of European classical, and indigenous "Saracenic" or "Moorish" forms, to represent empire in the twentieth century was not confined to the British Empire. For parallel debates among French colonial architects and planners, especially over the construction of Casablanca and the "preservation" of Fez, see the forthcoming work of Gwendolyn Wright and Paul Rabinow. For Italian building in Libya, see the recent essay "Modernism and Colonialism: Fascist Architecture and Urban Planning in the Reconquest of Libya" by Krystyna von Henneberg, a Ph.D. candidate at Berkeley. I am grateful to Ms. von Henneberg for her assistance in the final preparation of this volume, especially in putting together the glossary and the index.

9. Gavin Stamp, "British Architecture in India, 1857-1947," *JRSA* 129 (1981): p. 375. For further discussion of these New Delhi-trained architects, see Irving, *Indian Summer*, pp. 314-38.

10. Baker to Duncan, 22 January 1922, UCT Archives, Duncan Papers BC294 D11.2.21.

11. Almost no research has been done on the attitudes toward architecture of India's educated elite in the nationalist era, or on the development during those years of a community of indigenous architects, so the views expressed here must remain speculative. Some of the larger questions of the relationship of art and nationalism are currently being investigated by Partha Mitter. For the design of Chandigarh, see Norma Evenson, *Chandigarh* (Berkeley, 1966). The first professional school of architecture in India developed in Bombay from its School of Art. For its early history, see Claude Batley, "Schools of Architecture," *JRIBA* (1930), pp. 592-97. It would be worth examining whether, and how far, contemporary Indian architects, in the current atmosphere of postmodernism, have incorporated indigenous forms into their building. For one innovative attempt to adapt modern architectural forms to India's climate, with some concern as well for such indigenous elements as the *chattri*, see the work of Charles Correa, described in Sherban Cantacuzino, *Charles Correa* (Singapore, 1984).

12. Baker, *Architecture and Personalities*, p. 219. For Curzon's use of the phrase, see his 20 July 1904 speech in *Speeches on India Delivered While in England*, p. 21.

Glossary

- amphitheater** An oval or circular structure with tiers of seats rising gradually upward and outward from a central open space.
- angle-shaft** A decorative element such as a colonnette or carved molding attached to the angle of a building.
- annular arch** A vaulted ceiling stretching between two concentric walls.
- apse** A semicircular or polygonal projection of a building, usually capped by a dome.
- arcade** An arched, roofed passageway or part of a building.
- architrave** The lowest part of an entablature resting directly on top of a column.
- atrium** An open central court.
- bastion** A projecting part of a rampart or other type of fortification; or a defensive, fortified stronghold.
- batter** A sloping face of a wall that recedes from bottom to top.
- battlement** A parapet built on top of a wall with indentations for defense or decoration.
- bhadralok** A well-to-do, educated upper-caste Indian, especially in Bengal.
- bracket** A small supporting piece of stone or other material, often formed of a scroll-like ornament, used to carry a projecting weight.
- bungalow** A thatched or tiled one-story house surrounded by a wide verandah.
- burj** A tower.
- buttress** A structure built against a wall for support or reinforcement, usually in stone or brick.
- campanile** A bell tower.
- cap** The capital of a column.
- casement** A window sash that opens outward on hinges.
- cenotaph** A monument to a dead person whose remains lie elsewhere.
- chajja**, or **chujja** An overhanging cornice running along the side of a building, or an eave over a door or window.
- chamfer** To cut off the edge or corner; to bevel, flute, or cut a groove.
- chancel screen** A screen covering the space around the altar of a church.
- charpai** A commonly used light bedstead with a mattress of string or webbing.
- chattri**, or **chattrra** A small and open umbrella-shaped pavilion or turret, usually placed on top of a roof for decorative or symbolic purposes.
- chimney pot** A pipe placed atop a chimney to improve the draft.

- cloister** A covered walk flanked by an open colonnade running along an internal courtyard; or a place devoted to religious seclusion.
- colonnade** A series of columns placed at regular intervals.
- coping** The top part of a wall or roof, usually slanted.
- corbel** A stone, wood, or brick bracket projecting from the face of a wall and used to support a cornice or arch.
- cornice** A horizontal molded projection crowning a building or wall, or the uppermost part of an entablature.
- cortile** Courtyard.
- cusp** A pointed shape formed by two intersecting arcs or foliations, such as in a tracery.
- dais** A raised platform where honored guests or speakers sit or stand.
- dharmasala** A resthouse for pilgrims or travelers.
- diwan-i-am** A hall of public audience.
- diwan-i-khas** A hall of private audience.
- dormer** A vertical window in a gable projecting from a sloping roof.
- darbar** A public audience or reception given by a governor, prince, or viceroy.
- dusturi** An unofficial commission paid to secure the compliance or favor of one or more parties to a transaction.
- embrasure** An opening in a wall for a door, window, or gun, slanted so that its interior dimensions are larger than its exterior ones.
- entablature** The upper section of a classical order, resting on the capital and including the architrave, frieze, and cornice.
- finial** An ornament placed at the peak of an arch or structure, or any decorative terminating part.
- font** A basin, fountain, or spring.
- frieze** A plain or decorated part of an entablature between the architrave and the cornice; or any decorative horizontal band.
- gable** The triangular wall section at the end of a pitched roof; or an ornamental triangular section over a door or window.
- ghat** A flight of steps or platforms leading down to the edge of a river; a landing place or a way of descent from a mountain path or range.
- gopuram** An ornamental gateway of a temple; or a tower above the gateway to a south Indian temple.
- harem, or hareem** See *zanana*.
- hypostyle** Constructed with a roof or ceiling supported by columns.
- jaali** A pierced-stone lattice screen.
- kiosk** An open gazebo or pavilion, used either for decorative purposes or as a selling stand.
- kirti stambha** A free-standing decorated pillar, often covered with religious emblems or writing, used to celebrate a victory or sometimes placed in front of a temple.
- kloof** A deep ravine typical of the South African landscape.
- kopje** A flat-topped or pointed hillock common to the South African veld.
- lakh** One hundred thousand rupees; in figures 1,00,000.
- lattice** An open framework of strips forming regular patterned spaces, used as a screen, window, or gate.
- lintel** A horizontal beam forming the upper part of a window or door frame and supporting part of the structure above it.

- loggia** A roofed but open gallery or arcade on the front or side of a building, usually at an upper level.
- maidan** A large open space or park in a city or town.
- minaret** A tall slender tower on a mosque with balconies from which a muezzin summons people to prayer.
- mistri** An Indian master-craftsman or foreman.
- nave** The central part of a church.
- oriel** A projecting bay window, supported from below with corbels or brackets.
- parapet** A low protective wall or railing along the edge of a roof or balcony.
- pediment** A wide, low-pitched gable surmounting the facade of a building in Grecian style.
- pendentive** The curved, triangular portion of wall connecting the base of a dome and its supporting arches.
- pier** A vertical structure used for support or reinforcement.
- pietra dura** An inlaid mosaic of hard and expensive stones.
- pilaster** A rectangular column with a capital and base set into a wall as an ornamental motif.
- pile** A heavy beam of timber, steel, or concrete driven into the earth as a foundation or support for a structure.
- plinth** A block or slab on which a pedestal, column, or statue is placed.
- portal** A large and imposing doorway or entrance.
- porte-cochère** A carriage entrance leading into the courtyard of a townhouse.
- portico** A porch or walkway with a roof supported by columns, usually leading to a building's entrance.
- punkah** A fan made of a palm frond or a strip of cloth hung from the ceiling and moved by a servant by means of pulleys and rope.
- pylon** A monumental gateway to an ancient Egyptian temple, flanked by two tower-like structures with slanting walls in the shape of truncated pyramids.
- rampart** An elevation or embankment, often with a parapet, used for defensive purposes.
- rond-point** A circular space with radiating streets or vistas.
- rostrum** A raised platform for public speaking.
- setback** A steplike recession in a wall.
- shaft** A column or obelisk, or the section of a column between the capital and base.
- shikra, or sikra** A pyramidal dome or spire on a north Indian Hindu temple, usually in the shape of a lingam, or phallus.
- stoep** A raised platform or verandah in front of a house, originally used to raise it above street level.
- stupa** A beehive-shaped Buddhist memorial mound.
- takht** A throne or seat.
- tesselated** Formed into a mosaic pattern, often using small squares of stone or glass.
- trabeated** Constructed with horizontal beams or lintels rather than arches.
- tracery** An ornamental pattern of interlaced and ramified lines common in Gothic windows.
- turret** A small, ornamented tower.
- Tuscan column** A column of the Tuscan order resembling a simplified version of a Doric column.

- rykhana* A cool basement room used in hot weather.
tympanum The recessed, ornamental space or panel enclosed by the cornices of a triangular pediment.
veld Open grazing land in southern Africa.
verandah A porch or balcony, usually roofed and partly enclosed, extending along the outside of a building.
wattle and daub A type of construction using walls of intertwined reeds, twigs, or branches covered with mud or plaster.
zanana, or *zenana* Separate women's quarters.

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An Imperial Vision



Indian
Architecture
and
Britain's
Raj

Thomas R.
Metcalf

An Imperial Vision

Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj

By Thomas R. Metcalf

The imposing buildings constructed by the British in India, many of which may still be seen by the traveler, did not spring simply from the fancy of the architects or from purely aesthetic concerns: rather, they embodied a vision the British had of themselves as rulers of India. *An Imperial Vision* examines the relationship between culture and power expressed in the architectural forms the British employed in India. From the great monuments of New Delhi to the most obscure structures in dusty country towns, these buildings visibly represented in stone the choices the British made in politics as imperial rulers. Viewed together they enhanced the hold of empire over ruler and ruled alike.

Much of this architecture drew on European classical forms, for these had long evoked a vision of empire in Europe. But the British also constructed, in the years after the uprising of 1857, a vision of themselves not as mere foreign conquerors but as legitimate, almost indigenous rulers, linked directly to the Mughals and hence to India's own past. In so doing they created the distinctive forms known as Indo-Saracenic architecture. For half a century this building sustained a new ideology of empire. With Victoria as empress and India's cities dotted with imposing Indo-Saracenic colleges and courts, post offices and railway stations, the British could proclaim their supremacy as they sought to reshape India, and yet at the same time assert a claim to knowledge—and hence to power—from within. But this self-confidence could not endure forever. By the 1920s, despite the massive building projects under way on the plains of Delhi, the knowledge and the power that upheld the Raj had begun to slip away.

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Thomas R. Metcalf is Professor of History at the University of California at Berkeley and author of *Land, Landlords, and the British Raj: Northern India in the Nineteenth Century* (California, 1979), among other books.

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